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GOSPEL IN PAUL

Studies on Corinthians, Galatians and Roman for Richard N. Longenecker

EDITED BY
L. ANN JERVIS AND
PETER RICHARDSON

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JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT
SUPPLEMENT SERIES
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Stanley E. Porter

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OPEN LETTER TO PROFESSOR RICHARD N. LONGENECKER

Dear Professor Longenecker,

These essays are a tribute of admiration and obligation. You will recognize all the names, some of students you have guided, some of nearby colleagues who have valued your friendship and some of more remote colleagues who have respected your contributions to the study of Paul. You will find here, we hope, a reflection of the range of your interests in Paul, from the directly exegetical through the social-historical to the theological. In particular, you will find an effort to profit from and pursue, as you have so ably done, epistolary and rhetorical approaches to Paul.

Your own research into Paul is much valued by your students and colleagues, both because of its depth and breadth and also because of the way you have mediated your love of the study of Paul to students at all levels and the wider reading public. Graduate students from many different geographical locations and confessional stances have come to study with you at Wycliffe College. And many came not only because of your fine scholarly reputation but also because you model scholarship with the church in view. You have focused not only on communicating with your academic peers but, because of your conviction that the words of Paul are also the word of God, you have seen your work as supporting and clarifying the church's contemporary proclamation. Your work on the translation committee of the New International Version is consistent with this commitment to expressing the good news in our day. And the many lectureships you gave further indicate your commitment to articulating the pertinence of the Bible for our time.

As an editorial team, one a contemporary and one a former doctoral student, we are grateful for your friendship, collegiality and mentoring over the years. At the Toronto School of Theology you have demonstrated your capacity for diligent service, creative leadership and wise counsel. Your innate humility and gracious ways have endeared you to

many. We celebrate your sense of humour, honesty and compassion and proclaim you one of the better story tellers we have heard! Most significant of all, we note your constancy, devotion and love for your wife Fran and your enjoyment of your children.

You should also know that two others, Klyne Snodgrass and Linda Belleville, set out on a similar path; when we each learned of the other's efforts, they graciously bowed out and left the field open to us. To them we owe a special thanks, a thanks also due to the other contributors for their grand responses to the opportunity to write in your honour, and to Wycliffe College for financial and secretarial support in the production of this volume.

This comes with gratitude from all of us, and with warmest good wishes for continuing creativity, productivity and accomplishment.

Ann Jervis
Peter Richardson

EDITORS' PREFACE

This tribute to Richard N. Longenecker fell into place. The unifying theme of 'Gospel in Paul' arose directly out of his own scholarly interests and career; those approached readily agreed to be included. More remarkable, an overriding way of organizing the studies quickly emerged: we soon realized that we could almost use a neat grid to pigeon-hole the contributors' interests: on the one hand a particular interest in Paul's correspondence to Corinth, Galatia or Rome; on the other hand a special competence in one or other of rhetorical, epistolary, social–historical, theological or exegetical approaches to Paul. In the end all accepted their assignments with good grace and even alacrity, with the result that the volume gathers an unparalleled set of essays on ways of investigating Paul, focused on one of his own primary issues and dealing with specific investigations of his 'great letters'.

Having established this framework for the contributions, we have simply ordered the main divisions in what we take to be the chronological order (i.e., Corinthians, Galatians, Romans) and within each section we have organized the studies in a logical sequence given the character of the individual essays.

The occasion of this *Festschrift*, of course, has to do with Richard N. Longenecker's 65th birthday. We hope, however, that the volume will continue to make an important contribution to the scholarly discussion of how best to approach the study of Paul's letters, how to penetrate through to the significance of his thought, how to integrate an understanding of his letters with their settings. No one view of Paul or of his view of gospel emerges from these studies; we dare to hope that by juxtaposing these self-consciously different studies of gospel in Paul's thought we will contribute to a more carefully nuanced view of his understanding of the 'good news'. This, we also dare to think, will please our honoree and give future generations of students cause for sharing in our gratitude.

Peter Richardson
Ann Jervis

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
AJT	*American Journal of Theology*
AnBib	Analecta biblica
BAGD	W. Bauer, W.F. Arndt, F.W. Gingrich and F.W. Danker, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*
BARev	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BDF	F. Blass, A. Debrunner and R.W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament*
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BFCT	Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie
Bib	*Biblica*
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BR	*Biblical Research*
BT	*The Bible Translator*
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZNW	Beihefte zur *ZNW*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CNT	Commentaire du Nouveau Testament
ConBNT	Coniectanea biblica, New Testament
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad novum testamentum
CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie*
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
FFNT	Foundations and Facets: New Testament
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	G.A. Buttrick (ed.), *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*
IDBSup	*IDB*, Supplementary Volume
Int	*Interpretation*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*

JSNTSup	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament* Supplement Series
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JTC	*Journal for Theology and the Church*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LSJ	Liddell–Scott–Jones, *Greek–English Lexicon*
MNTC	Moffatt NT Commentary
NCB	New Century Bible
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIDNTT	C. Brown (ed.), *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*
NIGTC	The New International Greek Testament Commentary
NorTT	*Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift*
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NTA	*New Testament Abstracts*
NTAbh	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
Numen	*Numen: International Review for the History of Religions*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
RB	*Revue biblique*
RGG	*Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
SBLSSP	SBL Seminar Papers
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*
SNT	Studien zum Neuen Testament
SNTSMS	Society of New Testament Studies Monograph Series
ST	*Studia theologica*
TDNT	G. Kittel and G. Friedrich (eds.), *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*
TynBul	*Tyndale Bulletin*
UBS	United Bible Society
UUÅ	Uppsala universitetsårsskrift
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal*
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*

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1. We are grateful to Bruce Longenecker for preparing the Cursus Vitae and Bibliography.

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GOD'S OBEDIENT MESSIAH AND THE END OF THE LAW: RICHARD N. LONGENECKER'S UNDERSTANDING OF PAUL'S GOSPEL

L. Ann Jervis

A discussion of Richard N. Longenecker's contributions to understanding Paul's gospel does not adequately convey the extent of Longenecker's thought. For Longenecker has also made significant contributions in the areas of gospel studies, Acts, Hebrews, early Jewish Christianity and its christology, the use of the Old Testament in the New, social ethics and hermeneutics. Furthermore, by organizing this volume so as to encourage consideration of the value of rhetorical and epistolary analyses for studying Paul, we pay tribute to Longenecker's work in these methodological areas as well. Nevertheless, as the theme of Paul and his gospel is both the beginning and central concern of Longenecker's work, it is the most fitting subject of this volume. In what follows I hope to emphasize the contribution Longenecker has made to understanding Paul's gospel as centred on the work of Christ in relationship to the law of God. Longenecker's thoughts have had a provocative, clarifying and compelling impact on me personally and, as this volume attests, on many others as well.

According to Longenecker, the good news revealed to Paul was that Jesus was the Messiah. Upon reflection, Paul understood that Jesus Christ had fulfilled the contractual obligation of the Mosaic law, so now the way was clear for humanity to relate to God on the basis not of law but of faith. Paul recognized that through Jesus' obedience in life and death, and God's victory in his resurrection, God's redemptive purposes had reached a new stage. Through faith in God's Messiah the world was offered liberty. Faith in Jesus the Christ offered true freedom. Paul the prophet and pastor understood and conveyed both the theological and practical consequences of God's liberating activity in Christ. Paul's

gospel is that believers in Jesus Christ are freed from estrangement from God and freed for reconciliation with God.[1] Through faith, believers live 'in Christ' and so are given the mind of Christ, and the ability to be righteous through the activity of the Spirit.[2] The Christian believer may obey and enact the only effective divine law—the law of Christ.[3] For the believer, the fruit of commitment to the gospel is the freedom of a life lived in loving service.[4]

The book in which Longenecker presents his most sustained understanding of Paul's gospel (*Paul, Apostle of Liberty*) has as its undeclared subtext a conversation with Martin Luther, particularly with Luther's 'A Treatise on Christian Liberty'. Longenecker agrees with Luther on many of the essentials of Paul's gospel: the antithesis of law and Christ,[5] the christocentric nature of Paul's gospel,[6] that Paul did not distinguish between the moral and ceremonial law,[7] the law as temporary in salvation history,[8] God's 'strange' work of salvation in the law,[9] the

1. 'Christ has achieved man's complete reconciliation to a holy, righteous and loving God' (R.N. Longenecker, 'The Obedience of Christ in the Theology of the Early Church', in R. Banks [ed.], *Reconciliation and Hope* [Exeter: Paternoster, 1974], pp. 142-52, esp. p. 148).

2. Longenecker, *Paul, Apostle of Liberty* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1980 [1964]), p. 194; also *Galatians* (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1990), pp. 247-48.

3. Longenecker contends that Paul thought that with the coming of Christ the Law 'now only carried nationalistic significance' (*Paul*, p. 206). See also *Paul*, p. 153.

4. *Galatians*, p. 238.

5. 'For Paul, however, any mingling of faith and law, even if it is claimed that this has only to do with a proper lifestyle and not justification, is a discrediting of the Abrahamic covenant, the work of Christ, the ministry of the Spirit, and the principle of faith, and so brings one right back to the issue of legalism' (*Galatians*, p. 135). Also, 'the gospel as proclaimed by Paul... focused on the faith/faithfulness of Christ apart from the Jewish law' (*Galatians*, p. 103). Longenecker holds that Paul thought Christ's work had brought an end not just to law as a means of salvation but to law as guidance in righteousness. According to Longenecker, in Galatians Paul counters the Judaizers' propounding of a 'nomistic lifestyle' for Gentile Christians, that is, a lifestyle guided by the Torah (*Galatians*, pp. 86, 176). 'For life controlled by law was instituted by God only for the period of his people's spiritual minority and until Christ should come. Now God's own "in Christ" are to live as mature "sons of God" and not in slavery to legal prescriptions' (*Galatians*, p. 177). Also, 'in the work of Christ righteousness has now become a matter dependent only upon Christ, entirely apart from the Law' (*Paul*, p. 249).

6. Longenecker, *Paul*, p. 67; and *Galatians*, p. 35.

7. *Paul*, p. 120.

8. 'The Pedagogical Nature of the Law in Galatians 3.19–4.7', *JETS* 25

nature of Christian liberty as the ability now to live under Christ's Law, through faith and the work of the Spirit,[10] recognition of the imperative entailed by the gospel,[11] the character of Christian ethics as obedience not works,[12] and the central role of the Spirit in the Christian life.[13] Yet, in presenting Paul's gospel, Longenecker, both in *Paul, Apostle of Liberty* and in his other writings, emphasizes several unique and helpful points. As we shall see, these emphases primarily concern the faithfulness of God and how that relates to the work of Christ.

The faithfulness of God is problematic both for Paul and his interpreters. For how can God be trusted if God did not tell God's people that the law was temporary? How can God be trusted, if the contract made with the people of Israel could only be upheld, on their end, through faith in someone who would come many generations after Moses?

Longenecker approaches the problem of God's faithfulness raised by Paul's gospel through invoking the concept of development. Longenecker is convinced that God's redemptive purposes are not static but dynamic, not stationary but developing.[14] Salvation history is linear not cyclical. It is progressive, developing forwards. This is clear from the fact that God's history of salvation is one which points towards the future. The 'new creation' that Christians experience is not a return to primordial bliss but a new creation.[15] And Christians look forward to the climax of redemption—the second coming of Christ.[16]

Longenecker roots his developmental perspective in the Antiochian fathers, in contrast to the approach of the Alexandrian school. He characterizes the latter as static and non-developmental and the former

(1982), pp. 53-61, p. 57; *Galatians*, p. 177.

9. *Paul*, p. 124.

10. *Paul*, pp. 196 and 208; 'The Pedagogical Nature of the Law', p. 60.

11. *Paul*, p. 176.

12. *Paul*, pp. 179-80.

13. *Paul*, pp. 181-83; *Galatians*, p. 247.

14. 'On the Concept of Development in Pauline Thought', in K.S. Kantzer and S.N. Gundry (eds.), *Perspectives on Evangelical Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1979), pp. 195-207; and *New Testament Social Ethics for Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), pp. 21-26.

15. *Galatians*, p. 296.

16. 'The Return of Christ', in C.E. Armerding and W.W. Gasque (eds.), *Dreams, Visions and Oracles: The Layman's Guide to Biblical Prophecy* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1977), pp. 143-63, p. 162.

as dynamic, embracing the possibility of development in God's salvation plan.[17] Like the Antiochian school, Longenecker understands salvation history as developing in continuity with God's previous activities. Development in salvation history is organic, incorporating both the dynamics of continuity and change.[18]

While God's salvific activity is consistent, it is not without surprises from the human point of view (to use a Pauline phrase). And so revelation is integral to salvation history. The revelation to Paul of Jesus as Messiah and of himself as apostle to the Gentiles is a perfect case in point. Revelation, however, is not a retraction or reversal of God's purposes, but God's way of showing the direction God's loving will is taking.

Longenecker's understanding of development is distinct, both from those who would see the Christian Paul as still functioning within Jewish theological categories and those who would regard him as having made a radical break from his ancestral religion. In presenting Paul's thought, Longenecker holds in tension both the schemes of promise and fulfilment,[19] and the antithesis of law and Christ.

So, for instance, unlike W.D. Davies,[20] who sees Paul presenting Christ as the New Torah in continuity with Jewish symbols and expectations, and perceiving himself as still functioning within Judaism, thereby viewing faith in Christ as a further stage of the development of Judaism,[21] Longenecker understands Paul's gospel as offering a new religious paradigm, one in which humans relate to God through faith rather than under contract to the law. And, unlike N.T. Wright, while

17. 'Three Ways of Understanding Relations between the Testaments: Historically and Today', in G.R. Hawthorne and O. Betz (eds.), *Tradition and Interpretation in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Tübingen: Mohr, 1987), pp. 22-32, esp. pp. 26-28.

18. Longenecker illustrates his model by analogy 'to the relationship of a growing plant to its original seed... real growth always involves genuine innovations of structure and expression... yet with that growth being always controlled and judged by what is inherent in the seed itself' ('Development in Pauline Thought', p. 202); also *New Testament Social Ethics*, p. 26.

19. *Paul*, p. 105.

20. *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 4th edn, 1980); see also his 'Paul and the Law. Reflections on Pitfalls in Interpretation', in M.D. Hooker and S.G. Wilson (eds.), *Paul and Paulinism* (London: SPCK, 1982), pp. 4-16.

21. See Davies, 'Paul and the People of Israel', *NTS* 24 (1966), pp. 4-39.

Longenecker regards Paul's conversion as entailing a recognition of Jesus as the Messiah,[22] this does not lead Longenecker to speak of covenant theology.[23] Longenecker's understanding that Paul's gospel was fundamentally a belief in Jesus as Messiah does not have as its obvious consequence, as it does for these scholars, a concentration on describing how Jesus of Nazareth could reasonably (as opposed to revelationally) be understood as Messiah, or a presenting of Paul's theology in Jewish categories. Longenecker, with some acknowledgement of Jewish expectations,[24] focuses instead on Christ as the one who eliminated the law.[25] He considers that the revelation at Damascus showed Paul that Jesus the Christ not only fulfilled the promises to Israel but established a new way of relating to God—a way which could include the Gentiles. This revelation was in effect the beginning of a new religion, what Longenecker calls Paul's 'great reversal from a zealous proponent of the traditions of Judaism to a proclaimer of the Christian gospel'.[26]

On the other hand, while Longenecker's understanding of Paul in terms of development in salvation history is not as smooth as the presentations of Davies and Wright, neither does it incorporate the radical discontinuities propounded by some. Unlike E.P. Sanders,[27] Longenecker stresses that for Paul Jesus is the Jewish Messiah, thereby affirming that Paul saw his gospel as rooted in Judaism. And he thinks that Paul's gospel is consistent with God's historical concern for God's people, sharing J. Munck's view that Paul's ministry was ultimately focused on the Jews.[28]

Longenecker sees a basic continuity in God's purposes, and understanding of those purposes, as extending right from Jesus through the

22. *Paul*, pp. 84-85, 105.

23. See Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), ch. 7.

24. E.g., *Paul*, pp. 184-87.

25. *Paul*, p. 153. Note how Longenecker relates Christ's fulfilling of the contractual obligation of the law to the hopes of Israel (*Paul*, p. 151).

26. *Galatians*, p. 35.

27. 'The central Pauline soteriological conviction is not well denominated as a conviction *that* Jesus was the Messiah. What is essential is that Jesus Christ came to save *all*, both Jew and Gentile' (*Paul and Palestinian Judaism* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983 (1977)], p. 497).

28. Longenecker, *Paul*, pp. 253, 263. Cf. J. Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind* (London: SCM Press, 1959).

Jerusalem apostles to Paul.[29] Unlike F.C. Baur[30] and R. Bultmann,[31] among others, Longenecker thinks Paul's gospel agrees christologically with that of the Jerusalem apostles[32] and goes back to the words and actions of Jesus.[33] He maintains that Paul's letters contain early Christian confessions,[34] and that the apostle adhered to the original story of Jesus as told by the earliest Christian believers.[35] While Paul's own gospel developed in response to the various circumstances of his ministry,[36] there was, nonetheless, an essential, consistent core to his gospel. Rather than envisaging Paul's message developing from one that was apocalyptically oriented[37] to a christologically centred proclamation, Longenecker considers that Paul's gospel was always christologically focused.[38]

Paul's basic christological conviction, says Longenecker, upon which Paul and the earliest church agree, is that Jesus is the Messiah. For both the early church and Paul this fact was known primarily by what Jesus did and said rather than by reflection on Jesus' nature.[39] Longenecker differentiates, then, between 'functional' and 'ontological' christology. A functional christology focuses primarily on what Jesus did, as opposed to an ontological christology, which is concerned about who he is.[40] While Longenecker is careful to stress that Paul's christology also includes

29. *The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity* (London: SCM Press, 1970), pp. 155-56.

30. *Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1875).

31. *Theology of the New Testament* (trans. K. Grobel; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955), II, p. 188.

32. 'In its focus on the redemptive work of Christ, Paul's preaching was identical to that of the Jerusalem apostles (cf. 1 Cor. 15.1-11)' *Galatians*, p. 23.

33. *Paul*, esp. pp. 224-27.

34. R. N. Longenecker, 'In the Beginning Was the Confession', paper for the American Theological Society (2–3 April 1993).

35. Longenecker agrees with R.B. Hays' proposal (*The Faith of Jesus Christ. An Investigation of the Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3.1–4.11* [Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983]) that the narrative about Jesus underlies Paul's theologizing (*Galatians*, p. 8).

36. Longenecker, 'The Nature of Paul's Early Eschatology', *NTS* 31 (1985), pp. 85-95 (93-94).

37. In contrast, for instance, to C. Buck and G. Taylor, *Saint Paul: A Study of the Development of his Thought* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969).

38. 'Paul's Early Eschatology'.

39. *Galatians*, pp. 5, 7, 10.

40. 'In the Beginning was the Confession', p. 13; and *Galatians*, pp. 7-10.

some ontological concepts,[41] he maintains that the chief emphasis in Paul's christology is on the functional dimension. He takes this to be a characteristically Jewish way of thinking.[42]

This functional christology is related to fulfilled messianism,[43] thereby affirming continuity within the early church and addressing the broader theological issue of divine consistency. What Longenecker does not do, however, is relate Paul's functional christology directly to Paul's concept of believers' being 'in Christ'. Even though Longenecker regards the 'in Christ' theme as key to Paul's theology,[44] we are left somewhat without guidance as to how believing in and confessing what Jesus has done translates believers into the new structure of existence signified by 'in Christ'.[45] Longenecker considers that 'in Christ' is a relational, participatory concept[46] that describes an intimate communion with Christ.[47] How can Paul's gospel promise this new state of being for believers without relying on an understanding of the being, not just the activity, of Jesus the Christ? What kind of faith, or, to put it another

41. For example, Longenecker writes that Paul thought of Jesus as pre-existent (*Galatians*, p. 170).

42. *Galatians*, p. 5.

43. In arguing for the christological, as opposed to apocalyptic, genesis and core of Paul's gospel, Longenecker writes: 'Paul's basic Christian conviction and the starting point for all his Christian theology was not apocalypticism but functional christology—that is, that his commitment was not first of all to a programme or some timetable of events but to a person: Jesus the Messiah... (Paul's) early eschatology was rooted in a functional christology wherein what Jesus did and said were the controlling factors. Therefore it must be insisted that the expression "fulfilled Messianism"—with full recognition of the importance of the eschatological adjective, yet with an emphasis on the christological noun—captures the essence of Paul's thought better than any other' ('Paul's Early Eschatology', pp. 93-94).

44. *The Ministry and Message of Paul* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1971), p. 89.

45. 'The guardianship of the Mosaic law was meant to be for a time when God's people were in their spiritual minority; but now with the coming of Christ, the time set by the Father has been fulfilled and Christians are to live freely as mature sons "in Christ", not under the law's supervision' (*Galatians*, p. 161); 'As those "in Christ", believers experience a more intimate and truly filial relationship with God the Father, one that dispaces the legal relationship that existed earlier for God's own' (*Galatians*, p. 175). 'Being "in Christ" means... a new quality of life based in and directed by the Spirit... Paul proclaims that life lived by the Spirit's direction is quite another type of existence than life lived nomistically by the precepts of the Torah' (*Galatians*, pp. 246, 247).

46. *Galatians*, p. 85.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 154; also *Paul*, pp. 160-70.

way, what is the object of a faith that changes the structure of one's whole life and being? Can it simply be knowledge of what Jesus has done? Do we not also need to factor in response to who Jesus is? We are reminded of Luther's words: 'It is not enough or in any sense Christian to preach the works, life and words of Christ as historical facts, as if the knowledge of these would suffice for the conduct of life... Rather ought Christ to be preached to the end that faith in him may be established that he may not only be Christ, but be Christ for you and me, and that what is said of him and is denoted in his name may be effectual in us'.[48] This was Bultmann's burden also,[49] and remains a puzzle for interpreters of Paul. While, indeed, Paul stresses what Jesus did in life and death, surely the emphasis in a statement such as Gal. 2.20 ('I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me') is as much on the nouns as the verbs, that is, the identity of the one who acts is of equal importance to the action itself.

Longenecker presents a complex Paul who, as stated earlier, understands the significance of Christ both in terms of fulfilment of a promise and as the revelation of a new and necessary and exclusive way of relating to God.[50] This creates tensions in Longenecker's thought, yet explains his perspective both on Paul's Jewish background and on the work of Christ.

48. 'A Treatise on Christian Liberty', in T.F. Lull (ed.), *Martin Luther's Basic Theological Writings* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), p. 609. Luther goes on to say that 'faith is produced and preserved in us by preaching why Christ came, what he brought and bestowed, what benefit it is to us to accept him'. This combination of a functional and ontological christology appears, to me, at least, true both of Paul and Christian experience. Longenecker states that functional christology is commitment to the person of Jesus the Messiah ('The Nature of Paul's Early Eschatology', p. 93). Surely such a commitment entails (in equal measure) both ontological and functional convictions about Jesus.

49. For Paul '*two acts of faith or belief and consequently also two concepts of faith-belief* must be distinguished. The first is belief (in the narrower popular use of the English word): willingness to consider true (that is, believe) the facts reported of the pre-existent Son of God—incarnation, crucifixion, resurrection from the dead—and to see in them a demonstration of the grace of God. The second is a faith which is self-surrender to the grace of God and which signifies the utter reversal of himself—specifically, the radical surrender of his human "boasting"' (Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, p. 300).

50. Longenecker does not entertain the possibility that Paul thought in terms of two valid covenants, as proposed, for example, by L. Gaston, *Paul and the Torah* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987).

More than many of his generation, Longenecker sees Paul's Jewish background in a relatively positive light. Before it had become common to counter the Lutheran caricature of Judaism, he described a type of Pharisaism which he named 'reacting nomism'.[51] While there was within Pharisaism a religious mindset which he termed 'acting legalism',[52] which did fit the traditional Lutheran characterization of Judaism, Paul's Pharisaic background was that of 'reacting nomism'. Paul did not regard Christ as the solution to the dilemma of a petrified works religion, for he had not felt dissatisfied in his ancestral faith.[53] Rather, Paul saw in Jesus the promised Messiah.[54] It was only with hindsight that Paul saw the true nature of Judaism. For in light of Christ Paul saw that even 'reacting nomism' was essentially legalistic.[55]

After Damascus Paul saw in Jesus not only the Messiah, but also freedom from slavery to the law. For Longenecker, Paul's Jesus not only fulfilled the promise for a Messiah, he also fulfilled the law. While Longenecker claims that Judaism is a religion of promise[56] and Paul's functional christology is equivalent to fulfilled messianism, nevertheless Longenecker does not describe the work of Christ in a manner so as to be consistent with ancient Jewish expectations.

This is a relatively independent line of thinking, for usually scholars who think in terms of fulfilment do not regard an antithesis of law and faith/Christ as also central to Paul's thought.[57] Longenecker, on the other hand, holds both that for Paul Jesus was the fulfilment of the hopes of Israel and that the antithesis between law and Christ is central to Paul's theology. In distinction also from those who have recast the

51. *Paul*, p. 78. Longenecker's category is very close to what E.P. Sanders would term 'covenantal nomism'.

52. Longenecker, *Paul*, p. 78.

53. *Paul*, p. 105.

54. *Paul*, p. 105.

55. *Paul*, p. 154.

56. *Paul*, p. 84.

57. E.g., Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, pp. 221-22; Wright, *Climax of the Covenant*, esp. p. 267. Note Davies' comment that A. Schweitzer (*The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*), 'by insisting in a thoroughgoing way on the eschatological context and content of Paul's thought,... inevitably introduced a new perspective. He opened the way for the interpretation of Paul's understanding of Judaism in terms, not of opposition, but of fulfilment or finality. To root Paul seriously in Jewish eschatology, as did Schweitzer, was to remove the centre of gravity of Paulinism from justification by faith' (Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, p. xiii).

traditional understanding of the origin and function of the law–Christ antithesis, Longenecker holds that this antithesis is part of Paul's theological, not just his missiological, thinking.[58] That is, Longenecker regards it as a central Pauline tenet, not only a pragmatic polemic developed in the course of the Gentile mission, that in Christ God has established a way of access and righteousness which is based on faith in Christ alone.[59] Paul's conviction that Gentile believers should not be required to live a 'nomistic lifestyle' was grounded in his central theological conviction about the work of Christ.[60] While Longenecker says relations between the Mosaic law and the message of the gospel are antithetical when 'a nomistic stance [is] foisted on Gentile Christians',[61] nevertheless, this conviction is grounded in Paul's theology, that Christ has brought an end to the law.[62] In fact, in agreement with Sanders,

58. In contrast, for, example, to K. Stendahl, *Paul among Jews and Gentiles* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1980), p. 2; and L. Gaston, *Paul and the Torah*, p. 5.

59. It is to be noted that Longenecker does articulate the relationship between the practical concerns of Paul's mission and the development of his theology, even concerning the relationship of law and faith in Christ. For instance, he sees the dispute with Cephas at Antioch as originally over practical matters having to do with the relationship of Jews and Gentiles in the church. But Paul understood and fought primarily for the theological implications of Cephas' action. When Cephas separated from fraternizing with Gentile believers, out of concern for the Jerusalem church which was under pressure from zealot-minded Jews (here Longenecker accepts R. Jewett's thesis), Paul focused on both the practical and theological consequences of Cephas' action in light of his mission to the Gentiles (*Galatians*, pp. 72-75).

60. Cf. Longenecker's Lutheran emphasis to J.D.G. Dunn's Calvinist one. For Dunn, Paul's negative treatment of the law is based primarily on the Jews' misperception of the law as a demonstration of their special prerogative as the people of God ('The New Perspective on Paul', *BJRL* 65 [1983], pp. 95-122; and *Romans 1–8* [Dallas, TX: Word, 1988], pp. lxiii-lxxii). Believers in Christ are to realize that God has now established one people of God—both Jew and Gentile. Now, through faith in Christ, the law can be fulfilled in the right way. 'Freed from that too narrowly Jewish perspective, the law still has an important part to play in "the obedience of faith"' (Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, p. lxxii).

61. *Galatians*, p. 86.

62. 'Judaism speaks of itself as being Torah-centred and Christianity declares itself to be Christ-centered, for in Christ the Christian finds not only God's law as the revelatory standard pre-eminently expressed but also the law as a system of conduct set aside in favor of guidance by reference to Christ's teachings and example and through the direct action of the Spirit. So in Rom. 10.4 Paul declares that "Christ is the end of the law in its connection with righteousness to everyone who believes",

Longenecker argues that Paul makes and rests his case on the fact that it is a fundamental Jewish theological concept also that 'a legalistic use of the Mosaic law was not a tenet of true Jews',[63] that is, on theological grounds. So, while Longenecker does not think Paul opposed law observance for Jewish Christians,[64] Paul's acceptance of this depended on trusting that his Jewish brothers and sisters in Christ understood the priority and centrality of faith, which alone could put their law observance into the proper perspective.[65]

In the process of maintaining the centrality of the distinction between law and faith in Christ, however, Longenecker does not spiritualize 'the Jew' and the law, nor locate the antithesis of law and faith in the utter deficiency of Judaism.[66] Nevertheless, being sympathetic to an Antiochian understanding, Longenecker sees a radical distinction between the new and old covenants[67]—Christ has brought an end to the law. Longenecker considers that Paul understood the work of Christ primarily as that of fulfilling the contractual obligations of the law. He views the law's function within Judaism as twofold: both as the standard of righteousness and as a contractual obligation.[68] Christ's work was to fulfil the latter, thereby bringing to an end the law as a means of being righteous in God's sight.[69] In reading Rom. 10.4 Longenecker understands τέλος as end, νόμος as referring to the whole law, and the prepositional phrase εἰς δικαιοσύνην as indicating that through Christ's work the law is now ended as a covenant of obligation.[70]

Using classic Protestant terms Longenecker describes Christ as fulfilling the law through his 'passive' and his 'active' obedience. Christ's passive obedience is his sacrificial death, and his active obedience was demonstrated in his having completely fulfilled the Mosaic

understanding the much discussed τέλος of that verse as properly "termination" and not just "goal"' (*Galatians*, p. 177).

63. Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 86.

64. *Paul*, p. 251.

65. Curiously, at this point Longenecker is in agreement with Gaston, who considers that for Paul the law was a problem only within his Gentile communities (*Paul and the Torah*, p. 25).

66. In contrast to Luther, Bultmann and Käsemann.

67. *Paul*, pp. 153-55.

68. *Paul*, p. 145.

69. *Paul*, p. 145; *Galatians*, pp. 176-77.

70. *Paul*, pp. 144-47.

law.[71] In connection with the obedience of Christ, which resulted in the fulfilment and termination of the law, Longenecker addresses the phrase πίστις χριστοῦ. He is one of the early contemporary exponents of the subjective genitive reading of this phrase as 'the faithfulness of Christ'. Longenecker's distinctive interpretation of the meaning of πίστις χριστοῦ as 'the faithfulness of Christ' stems from the fact that he views it under the category of substitution.[72] Christ's faithfulness is not faith in God[73] so much as obedience—an obedience in life and death which 'both redeemed from the curse of the law and perfectly met the obligations of the law for all who respond to him by faith'.[74]

Longenecker, then, interprets Paul's phrase 'the faithfulness of Christ' in the context of a sacrificial understanding—Christ's death is an exchange for our salvation. He considers that law is the central issue, both in defining the problem Christ solved (the need to fulfil the law) and the resolution he offers (freedom from the curse of the law). This way of relating the πίστις χριστοῦ concept to Paul's overall soteriology differs, for instance, from that of M. Hooker or L. Gaston; neither maintains both a subjective genitive reading for πίστις χριστοῦ and the centrality of the law–Christ antithesis to Paul's theology. Both connect πίστις χριστοῦ to Paul's 'in Christ' theme. For Hooker, the category within which to read a subjective genitive is not sacrifice but participation. As we are 'in Christ' through Christ's work of interchange,[75] the subjective genitive denotes Christ's faith, which

71. 'The Obedience of Christ', p. 145.

72. 'That which the contractual obligation of the Law demanded, Christ has provided. He stood for mankind in offering the perfect righteousness, so that all who stand in Him stand before the Father not in their own righteousness but as robed in His righteousness... The sacrifice and the obedience of Christ are corollaries which can never truly be separated' (*Paul*, p. 152). Also, 'Christ offered unto God the perfect response required of all men, but on behalf of all men... he stood for all men offering to a holy God the perfect righteousness required in the law, so that all who take their place "in Christ" stand before the Father clothed in his righteousness and not in their sins. It is his faithfulness to the will of God expressed in the Mosaic law that is accepted and that makes men righteous before the Father, not our own attempts to be righteous by means of some type of legal observance' ('The Obedience of Christ', p. 147).

73. Cf. M. Hooker, 'ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ', *NTS* 35 (1989), pp. 321-42, esp. p. 339.

74. Longenecker, 'The Obedience of Christ', p. 147.

75. 'Christ became what we are, in order that, *in him*, we might become what he is' ('Interchange and Suffering', in W. Horbury and B. McNeil (eds.), *Suffering*

becomes our faith as we are in him. Gaston understands the centre of Paul's gospel to be that God is faithful and, through Jesus Christ, is fulfilling God's promise to Abraham concerning the Gentiles.[76] He reads the subjective genitive to mean that 'it is through the faithfulness of Christ that the blessing of Abraham has been extended to the Gentiles. Gentile inclusion into the elect people of God is through incorporation into Christ'.[77] This means for Gaston that God now has two covenants with humanity—one for Israel and one for the Gentiles.

Longenecker, on the other hand, does not connect πίστις χριστοῦ in any direct fashion with being 'in Christ'. For him, πίστις χριστοῦ is the basis upon which all of humanity is saved.[78] Read as a subjective genitive, the phrase serves to explain the character and mechanics of Paul's doctrine of justification by faith. 'Paul thought of the believer's justification, righteousness and access before God as based upon Christ's perfect obedience during his earthly life to the will of God expressed in the Mosaic law, as well as his sacrifice on the cross'.[79] The faithfulness of Jesus Christ brought the law to an end and so established a new way of relating to God.

It seems to me that this understanding of the faithfulness of Christ still leaves unresolved the problem of the faithfulness of God. It is the problem left us by Luther's reading: 'The law was not put into our hands, that we should fulfil it, but rather into the hand of Christ who was to come, that he himself should fulfil it. Wherefore it was given, not that it might justify, but rather that it might the more convict sinners, and that it should require the hand of a Mediator'.[80] Does not this understanding of the role of the law in salvation history, and of the work of Christ, turn God either into a nearsighted deity or a cruel tease? Longenecker's interpretation further calls us to reflect on whether, in order for Christian theology to maintain the faithfulness of God, it must

and Martyrdom in the New Testament: Studies presented to G.M. Styler [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981], pp. 70-83, p. 70). See also her 'ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ', p. 338. Hooker understands the 'in Christ' theme to be central, foundational and all embracing, for 'in Paul's view, Christians owe everything to the fact that they are in Christ: they are nothing, except by virtue of being in him' ('ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ', p. 337-38).

76. *Paul and the Torah*, p. 13.
77. *Paul and the Torah*, p. 13.
78. *Galatians*, p. 87; and 'The Obedience of Christ', p. 147.
79. 'The Obedience of Christ', p. 146.
80. W.A. 57.84.14 (Galatians).

be more theocentric than christocentric, or perhaps stress a theocentric christology.[81]

At this point, it is interesting to observe the close connection, for those who think theologically about Paul, between how we understand Paul's conception of the work of Christ and of being 'in Christ'. Sanders, for instance, interprets the work of Christ in Paul as an atoning for transgressions,[82] but primarily as the changing of universal lordships—from the power of sin to the lordship of Christ.[83] For Sanders, being 'in Christ' is a soteriological concept describing the character and means of salvation[84]—by participating in Christ we live in Christ, that is, are saved from the power of sin. 'In Christ' for Sanders describes this new state of existence. Longenecker, on the other hand, views the work of Christ as fulfilling the requirements of the law. He consequently understands being 'in Christ' primarily in ethical terms. While, of course, the phrase has soteriological connotations for Longenecker, it chiefly signifies being able to be righteous in God's sight.[85] 'In Christ', believers, with the help of the Spirit, live the law of Christ and so truly fulfil God's standard for righteousness.[86]

For all of Longenecker's scholarly concentration on the law the last word about his understanding of Paul's gospel surely should be 'spirit'—not just because Longenecker understands the work of Christ

81. It is interesting that some of the more provocative and influential recent readings of Paul which have taken seriously the question of the faithfulness of God have squarely placed their interpretations of Paul's christology within the framework of Paul's theology, i.e., Paul's convictions about God. See J.C. Beker, who speaks about a 'theocentric Christology' as the 'proper topic of Paul's theology' (*The Triumph of God: The Essence of Paul's Thought* [trans. L. Stuckenbruck; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990], p. 133). Wright shares this view to some extent (*Climax of the Covenant*). R.B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), sees as central to Paul's thought an ecclesiology which is essentially theocentric. For Hays, Paul's ecclesiology demonstrates that 'the experience of the Christian community stands in continuity with the story of Israel... If God was authoring the sacred story, then all the story's narrative patterns must foreshadow the experience of the community that has now encountered the apocalypse of God's grace' (*Echoes of Scripture*, pp. 102, 105).

82. *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, p. 463.

83. *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, pp. 467-68.

84. We participate in Christ's death and so are saved (Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983, p. 5).

85. E.g., Longenecker, 'The Obedience of Christ', p. 147.

86. *Ministry and Message*, p. 101.

to be actualized in believers by the Spirit[87] but because he regards the continuing presence and guidance of the Spirit among believers as central and life-giving. It is the Spirit who now reveals the direction theology should take in both its theoretical and ethical forms.[88] An understanding of God's salvific activity is never complete, since God's self-revelation and saving purposes continue even now. The Spirit of God aids in understanding and applying God's ways.[89] And, most pertinent of all, it is the Spirit who enables the believer to live a life of love—which is the only appropriate response to belief in Christ.[90]

For Longenecker, Paul's certainty that God's obedient Messiah has fulfilled and so brought to an end the Mosaic law, entails also the conviction that Christian believers are entitled and encouraged to live 'a new quality of life based in and directed by the Spirit'.[91]

87. *Galatians*, p. 247.

88. *New Testament Social Ethics*, p. 27.

89. *New Testament Social Ethics*, p. 15.

90. 'The Good News proclaimed by the New Testament is that God redeems freely and bestows new life as a gift—with the result that becoming new creatures in Christ Jesus by faith, we are then and there called to a life of active participation with God by the power of his Spirit in the expression of that relationship... True faith in Christ, Paul says, is always actively "expressing itself through love" (Gal. 5.6)' (*New Testament Social Ethics*, p. 97).

91. *Galatians*, p. 246.

Part I
GOSPEL IN THE CORINTHIAN LETTERS

GOOD NEWS AND THE INTEGRITY OF 1 CORINTHIANS

John C. Hurd

1. *Introduction*

It is an honour to be asked to share in this tribute to Richard Longenecker, who has been, during much of my tenure at Trinity College, my colleague in New Testament studies across the street at Wycliffe College. He has been an admirable colleague. I can point to one matter in particular. Over these years almost all of the New Testament doctoral students registered at Wycliffe have passed through my courses on Paul, especially my 'Method in Pauline Studies'. My positions on a number of issues are somewhat unorthodox when compared with the majority of Pauline scholars. Never, however, have I ever had a hint that Longenecker was not fully supportive of my influence on Wycliffe's advanced degree students. For this, and for so many other qualities, I honour him and wish him well in the years ahead.

When I looked at the occurrences in 1 Corinthians of εὐαγγέλιον, 'good news or gospel', and εὐαγγελίζομαι,'I spread the good news', I was struck by the fact that they fall in three different sections of the letter: (a) twice in chs. 1–4, (b) seven times in ch. 9, and (c) three times in ch. 15. Recent events (see below) had made me particularly conscious of the fact that a significant number of scholars consider that these sections were originally part of two or three different letters which were later combined into our present text of 1 Corinthians. Because I think that it is essential in any historical investigation to begin with the basic evidence and work from there, it seemed to me that it might be useful to attempt to be as clear as possible about whether we have one, or more than one, letter in the text of canonical 1 Corinthians before talking of the message or theology of 1 Corinthians. For this reason this paper, rather than examining 'good news' in the letter, proposes some good

news about the letter. At least, since our honouree himself accepts the integrity of 1 Corinthians, I venture to hope that my treatment of the problem will be for him 'good news'.[1]

For its 1989 meetings at Trinity College, Dublin, the 1 Corinthians Seminar of the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas asked Prof. Gerhard Sellin of the University of Oldenburg to prepare a discussion paper. The result was entitled '1 Kor 5–6 und der "Vorbrief" nach Korinth: Indizien für eine Mehrschichtigkeit von Kommunikationsakten im ersten Korintherbrief'. This paper was published in 1991 in the society's journal, *New Testament Studies*.[2] I in turn had been asked to prepare a response. That response is the nucleus of the following discussion.

Years ago I reflected on the problem of the integrity of 1 Corinthians in my book, *The Origin of 1 Corinthians*.[3] In fact, that project was originally conceived as a treatment of the problem of the unity of 1 Corinthians. The book evolved considerably from that beginning, but the question of unity remained central. The argument which finally emerged constitutes a sustained defence of the unity of the letter.[4] Since then I have been busy with other matters and rather assumed that the problem had gone away now that I had solved the problem to my own satisfaction. But Sellin's paper brings the issue to mind again, and reminds us that the type of source analysis of 1 Corinthians proposed by Johannes Weiss in 1910 is alive and well in some circles.[5]

Sellin's paper is a model of thoroughness and clarity. In the opinion of a number of members of the SNTS seminar it is the best exposition of the case for the non-integrity of 1 Corinthians available today. Sellin had already dealt with this and many other introductory problems posed by 1 Corinthians in his admirable and massive 'Hauptprobleme des Ersten Korintherbriefes'.[6] His seminar paper is in effect an expanded treatment

1. For R.N. Longenecker's views on the introductory problems of the Pauline corpus see, e.g., his *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1975), pp. 105-107.

2. *NTS* 37 (1991), pp. 535-58.

3. London: SPCK; New York: Seabury, 1965. Reprinted with an additional introduction: Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1983.

4. Indeed, Margaret M. Mitchell is kind enough to say, 'Hurd's [is] the only sustained defense of the unity of 1 Corinthians to date' in her excellently thorough book, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation* (Louisville: Knox, 1992), p. 4 n. 11.

5. See section 3 below, especially tables 2 and 3.

6. In *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II, 25/4 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987), pp. 2940-3044.

of one section of that survey: the reconstruction of the stages of communication between Paul and the Corinthians as reflected in our canonical 1 Corinthians. This topic was my first academic love, and there are many of his exegetical points with which I am in hearty agreement. And I applaud his irenic and undogmatic presentation. But I might as well confess at the beginning that I am sceptical about his basic thesis. He and a number of other scholars believe: (1) that several passages now found in our canonical 1 Corinthians were originally part of the letter referred to in 1 Cor. 5.9-11 ('Letter A'); (2) that other sections of 1 Corinthians were part of a later letter ('Letter B') which was Paul's answer to a letter which the Corinthians had written to him; (3) that 1 Corinthians also contains material which originally was part of a stiff letter written by Paul in response to rumours brought to him by Chloe's people ('Letter C'); and (4) that a redactor later wove these three letters together to produce our canonical 1 Corinthians.

The case for the non-integrity of 1 Corinthians is stronger than many scholars realize and cannot be lightly set aside. I begin therefore by examining the difficulties which 1 Corinthians poses as it now stands.

2. *The Case for Non-Integrity*

There are three basic reasons why theories of partition are proposed for 1 Corinthians.

(1) In 1 Cor. 5.9-11 the letter itself refers to another, earlier letter written by Paul to the Corinthians. Thus we know that a second letter related to 1 Corinthians existed at one time in history. This fact invites the hypothesis that portions of that earlier letter have survived. The obvious place to look for them is in that portion of the New Testament canon which relates to Corinth: 1 and 2 Corinthians. This is the hypothesis which we are examining in this paper.

(2) Further, there is the obvious oddity that no other Pauline letter deals with as many different topics, deals with some of these topics in a repetitious manner and, in the opinion of some, with a degree of inconsistency. To some extent the letter seems disorganized and contradictory. A proposal about the organization of 1 Corinthians will be presented in section 6 below.

(3) What concerns us now is another and still more basic problem: the fact that the present text of 1 Corinthians contains too many reasons why that letter was written. Multiple occasions strongly imply multiple letters.

In the canonical text Paul tells us of three sources by which he has had recent news from Corinth: (1) Paul indicates that he has had information which 'Chloe's people' passed on to him concerning factions at Corinth (1.11); (2) Paul indicates that he has received a letter from the Corinthians: 'Now concerning the matters about which you wrote' (7.1a); (3) finally, Paul tells us that he has received a delegation from Corinth in the persons of Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus (16.17).

We would expect that any one of these three events would have caused Paul to write a letter. It is true that this number may be reduced to two by the following argument. It is reasonable and customary to consider Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus as the bearers of the letter from Corinth.[7] After all, letters do not have legs. Stephanas was in the first group of converts in Corinth, baptized by Paul himself (1.16). Paul warmly commends him and his colleagues to the Corinthians (16.16-18). The present tense of Paul's imperative, 'give recognition' (v. 18), could well be translated, 'continue to give recognition'. Further, Paul says that they represent to him the Corinthian church: 'They have made up for your absence' (16.17b). It seems reasonable to suppose that they constituted a quasi-official delegation from the Corinthian congregation and thus that they carried the congregation's letter to Paul. Therefore, their arrival and the arrival of the letter from Corinth may be counted as one event.

Chloe's people, on the other hand, have unfavourable news about the Corinthians, news which the congregation would hardly have wanted publicized. As far as I am aware no one since the nineteenth-century scholar Adolf Hausrath[8] has tried to maintain that Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus *were* Chloe's people. The two groups play clearly different roles in this drama. Further, as Lietzmann pointed out,[9] after Chloe's people are introduced in 1.11 the designation 'the household of Stephanas' in 1.16 seems odd if the two groups include the same persons.

7. Hurd, *Origin*, p. 49.

8. A. Hausrath, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte* (4 vols.; Heidelberg: Bassermann, 1873–77).

9. H. Lietzmann, *An die Korinther*, I, II (HNT 9; 4th edns; Tübingen: Mohr, 1949), I, p. 90.

Thus the occasions for 1 Corinthians can be reduced to two in number: first, oral information from Chloe's people and secondly, written information in the form of a letter carried by Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus. But two occasions is the absolute minimum, and there may well have been as many as three more: (1) without revealing his source, Paul tells us in 5.1 that rumour had reached him that there was a case of sexual immorality at Corinth; (2) without naming an informant but with clear knowledge of some facts at least, Paul dealt in 6.1-11 with the use of civil lawcourts by his converts; (3) again without naming the source he said in 11.18 that he had heard that the unity of the Lord's Table has been broken in the Corinthian church.

By way of contrast consider the relative paucity of such occasions in Paul's other letters.

Romans. The letter to the Romans was initiated by Paul, and he does not indicate any immediate communication from Rome which might have caused him to write. No proper names of individuals appear in chs. 1–15. There are only two things about the Roman congregation that Paul says that he 'knows': their well-known faith (1.8) and their obedience (16.19). That Paul was planning to visit Rome (15.22-29) is an obvious motive for writing. Paul may indeed have had more than one purpose in writing, but there is nothing to indicate that these purposes came from more than one point in Paul's career.[10]

2 Corinthians. The unity of the material we know of as 2 Corinthians is a problem. Many scholars (including myself) consider that it represents basically two letters, chs. 1–9 and chs. 10–13. If so, chs. 1–9 were written because Paul, after his 'affliction in Asia' (1.8), had journeyed to Macedonia via Troas (2.13) and there found Titus (7.6-7), whom he had earlier dispatched to Corinth (7.13-14). From him Paul learned the happy news of the Corinthians' change of heart, and it was this news which caused him to write. One occasion for writing.

The other material, chs. 10-13, clearly reflects Paul's specific and,

10. Some scholars believe that Romans 16 was not a part of the original letter. Basic to the argument for this position is precisely that 16.1-2, Paul's commendation of Phoebe, is considered to be another purpose and therefore a separate occasion. It is to be noted, however, that commendations are a regular feature of Paul's letters (1 Cor. 4.17; 16.15-18; 2 Cor. 7.13b-15; 8.6, 16-17, 23; Eph. 6.21; Phil. 2.19-24, 25-30; Col. 1.7; 4.7-8, 9, 12; and 1 Thess. 3.2), frequently occurring just before the final greetings. They are usually taken to represent, not a separate purpose, but a purpose subordinate to the main purpose of the letter.

presumably, recent knowledge of rival Jewish-Christian missionaries working at Corinth. Paul knows that some have disparaged his letters (10.10), and that some have accused him of guile (12.16). These and other unwelcome pieces of news may well have sprung from a single source, but Paul does not indicate what this source is. There is, however, nothing to indicate more than one occasion for these chapters.

Galatians. This letter was written the moment Paul heard of Jewish-Christian missionaries at work in the Galatian churches which he had founded. Again, one occasion.

Philippians. According to the usual view this letter was a thank-you letter for the money sent by the church at Philippi to Paul in prison. The arrival of the messenger Epaphroditus is mentioned (2.25; 4.18). One occasion.[11]

Colossians. Paul mentions Epaphras as the source of his rather general information about the church in Colossae (1.7-8), but it seems to have been Paul who made the decision to write. There is no sign of multiple occasions.

Philemon. This letter includes a greeting from Epaphras (v. 23), perhaps the source of Paul's general knowledge of the church's 'love and faith' (v. 5), but it is the arrival of the run-away slave Onesimus (v. 10) that was the immediate cause for writing. One occasion.

1 Thessalonians. Paul wrote 1 Thessalonians because Timothy, whom he had sent to Thessalonica to bring news of the fate of that congregation (3.2), had now rejoined him (3.6). One occasion.

2 Thessalonians. This letter clearly reflects recent news of the apocalyptic distress of the Thessalonians at the supposed arrival of the 'Day of the Lord' (2.2). One occasion.

Thus 1 Corinthians stands out among the other Pauline letters by containing at least two occasions for writing. The nearest parallel is 2 Corinthians, since the happy news that Titus brought, which is the basis of chs. 1–9, does not sit well beside the unwelcome news that lies behind chs. 10–13. As noted above, many scholars believe that 2 Corinthians is composite. What about 1 Corinthians?

11. A few scholars believe that Philippians is composite. They therefore have to suppose that there was another occasion besides the arrival of Epaphroditus on which Paul received news about Philippi.

3. *Partition Theories*

Logically the argument proposed by Sellin and his precursors has three stages: (1) that there is a real possibility that Paul's letters were redacted between the time that they were first received by their intended readers and the time at which they became part of the Pauline Corpus, (2) that blocks of text which belonged to separate letters can be identified within the present text of 1 Corinthians, and (3) that we can reconstruct the original texts of the earlier letters by assigning to the redactor a motive or mode of operation. Sellin, like others, believes that he can establish the possibility of the first by an appeal to the case of 2 Corinthians (pp. 535, 540). He then seeks to establish the probability of the second by his analysis of 1 Corinthians 5–6 (pp. 536, 540-46). Finally, he attempts to increase the probability of this hypothesis by providing a complete account of the steps by which 1 Corinthians was produced.

I begin with the table with which Sellin summarizes his conclusions (p. 557). In it he gives the four stages which he believes preceded canonical 1 Corinthians. The contents and order of these letters (Letters A–C) are shown in Table 1.

Letter A is the letter to which Paul referred in 5.9-11 in its original sequence. The redactor ('R'), who produced canonical 1 Corinthians, reordered this letter from the sequence given in the top line into the sequence given in line '(A)'. Then without reordering Letter B he broke it apart at the points indicated and inserted the Letter A material. His intention was to bring relevant sections together. Finally he prefixed Letter C and produced what we have as 1 Corinthians (line 'R'). (Note that, because Sellin considers that reordering took place only with respect to Letter A, all chapter and verse references after the first line in Table 1 are in canonical order.)

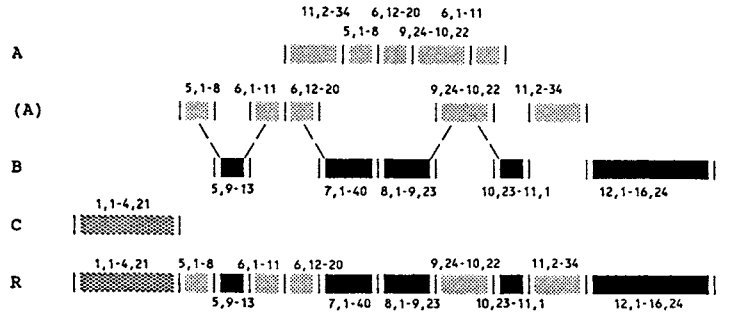

Table 1. *Sellin's View of 1 Corinthians*

English-speaking scholars in particular, but other scholars as well, may find this summary complicated. Many of us were not brought up to subdivide the text of 1 Corinthians in such a manner. In 1989 Paul Furnish could say, 'Apart from Schmithals...there have been few recent attempts to argue for the composite nature of 1 Corinthians'.[12] It should be recognized, however, that Sellin is working along quite traditional lines, traditional, at least, in some circles. My 1965 book gave a table of 'Principal Source Analyses of 1 Corinthians', which listed the opinions of seven scholars from Johannes Weiss to Erich Dinkler (see Table 2).[13]

	Weiss 1910–25	Loisy 1922	Couc'd 1923	Goguel 1926	deZwaan 1948	Schmth[1] 1956–72	Dinkler 1960
2 Cor. 6.14–7.1	A	A	A	A	A	A	—
1 Cor. 10.1-22(23)	A	A	A	A	B–A	A	A
6.12-20	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
11.2-34	A	A	A	B	A	A	A
9.24-27	A?	A	A	C	A	A	A
1 Cor. 5.1–6.11	C	B	B	B	B	B	B
7, 8	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
9.1-23	B	A	A	C	B	B	B
10.(23)24–11.1	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
12, 13, 14	B	B	B	B	B	B	A
15	B	C	F	B	B	A	B
1 Cor. 1–4	C	C	C	C	B	B	B

Table 2. *Principal Source Analyses of 1 Corinthians to 1960*

12. E.J. Epp and G.W. MacRae (eds.), *The New Testament and its Modern Interpreters,* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), p. 325.

13. Hurd, *Origin,* p. 45. The references are:

(1) J. Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief* (Meyer, 5. Abt., 10. Aufl.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1925), pp. xl-xliii.

(2) A. Loisy, *Les Livres du Nouveau Testament* (Paris: Emile Nourry, 1922), pp. 39-47.

(3) P.-L. Couchoud, 'Reconstitution et Classement des Lettres de Saint Paul', *RHR,* 87 (1923), pp. 17-31.

(4) M. Goguel, *Introduction au Nouveau Testament* (IV,2; Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1926), p. 86.

(5) J. de Zwaan, *Inleidung tot het Nieuwe Testament* (2nd ed.; Haarlem: Erven Bohn, 1948), II, pp. 47, 57.

(6) W. Schmithals, *Die Gnosis in Korinth: Eine Untersuchung zu den Korintherbriefen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1956; ET by J.E. Steely; Nashville/New York: Abingdon, 1971), pp. 12-18, 22 n. 2. He maintained this analysis through the next two editions of the work (1965^2, 1969^3), and in his article in *ZNW,* 51 (1960), pp. 225-45, which in revised form appeared as ch. 5 of his *Paulus und die Gnostiker* (Hamburg: Herbert Reich Evangelischer Verlag, 1965; ET by J.E. Steely; Nashville/New York: Abingdon, 1972, with further revisions by the author).

(7) E. Dinkler, 'Korintherbriefe', in RGG^3 IV, p. 18.

To these may now be added eight more scholars including Sellin (see Table 3).[14]

	Héring 1962	Schenk 1969	Schmth^2 1973	Suhl 1975	S/Fsch 1978	Senft 1979	Pesch 1986	Sellin 1991
2 Cor. 6.14–7.1	A?	A	A	A?		A?		
1 Cor. 10.1-22(23)	C	B	A	A	A	B	2	A
6.12-20	B	B	A	B	A	A?B?	2	A
11.2-34	C	A	pre-A	A	A	A?B?	2	A
9.24-27	C	B	A	A	A	B	4	A
1 Cor. 5.1-8	B	B	B	A	B	B	1	A
5.9-13	B	B	B	B	B	B	2	B
6.1-11	B	A	A	B	B	A	1	A
7, 8	B	C	B	B	B	C	4	B
9.1-18	C	B	E	B	B	C?	4	B
9.19-23	C	B	B	B	B	C	4	B
10.(23)24–11.1	B	C	B	B	B	C	2	B
12, 13, 14	C	C	B	B	B-A-B	C	4	B
15	C	A	A	A	A	A	3	B
1 Cor. 1–4	B	D	B	B	B	D	1	C

Table 3. *Principal Source Analyses of 1 Corinthians since 1960*

NOTES TO TABLES 2 AND 3

(1) In the above tables ch. 16 is omitted in the interests of simplicity.

(2) 'A' stands for the first letter sent to Corinth, normally the letter referred to in 5.9-11, the 'Previous Letter'. 'B' is the second letter, usually considered to be Paul's answer to the letter from Corinth. The remaining material is assigned to one or more letters ('C', 'D',...).

(3) Because Pesch's reconstruction is so individual, arabic numbers are used to indicate the sequence he proposes.

14. The scholars are:

(1) J. Héring, *The First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians* (trans. A.W. Heathcote and P.J. Allcock; London: Epworth, 1962), pp. xii-xiv.

(2) W. Schenk, 'Der 1. Korintherbrief als Briefsammlung', *ZNW* 60 (1969), pp. 219-43.

(3) W. Schmithals, 'Die Korintherbriefe als Briefsammlung', *ZNW* 64 (1973), pp. 263-88.

(4) A. Suhl, *Paulus und seine Briefe: Ein Beitrag zur paulinischen Chronologie*, (SNT 11; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1975), pp. 203-13.

(5) H.-M. Schenke and K.M. Fischer, *Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments. I. Die Briefe des Paulus und Schriften des Paulinismus* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1978), pp. 92-99.

(6) C. Senft, *La première épître de Saint Paul aux Corinthiens* (CNT^2 7; Paris: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1979), pp. 17-19.

(7) R. Pesch, *Paulus ringt um die Lebensform der Kirche: Vier Briefe an die Gemeinde Gottes in Korinth* (Herderbücherei 1291; Freiburg: Herder, 1986), pp. 29-100, 247-53.

Because several recent scholars have subdivided 9.1-23 or have separated chs. 5 and 6, there are now fifteen text-blocks whose assignment to a source stratum is at issue. There is thus an increasing tendency in recent years to make the source analysis more elaborate.

However, in all but three instances Sellin sides with the older majority opinion. The exceptions are (1) 2 Cor. 6.14–7.1; (2) 1 Cor. 5.1-8; and (3) 1 Cor. 6.1-11. In (1) Sellin agrees with Dinkler, the most recent analysis in the original table, and reflects modern doubts concerning this brief and unexpected passage.[15] It is with (2) and (3) that Sellin makes his own contribution to the discussion.[16] Indeed, the organization of his paper makes this priority clear: sections 1–2 argue for his special view of 5.1-8 and 6.1-11; the four remaining sections integrate this view with the more usual view of sources in order to present a complete picture of the evolution of our canonical 1 Corinthians. Thus Sellin's source analysis presupposes and reaffirms a scholarly tradition concerning the redaction of 1 Corinthians.

4. *The Theory of the Redactor*

The argument that 1 Corinthians is the product of redaction almost invariably begins, as it does with Sellin (p. 535), with an appeal to 2 Corinthians. Most scholars believe that Paul did not write what we have as 2 Corinthians as a single letter. There are a number of schools of opinion as to the process by which the letter reached its present form. Most scholars would separate the material in chs. 1–9 from that in 10–13. There is also general consensus that 6.14–7.1 is an interpolation of some sort. Some scholars also separate 2.14–7.4 from its context. And some scholars consider chs. 8 and 9 to be short, independent letters. Thus it is widely believed that the present text is the result of redactional activity. It is then argued that, if redaction can take place in 2 Corinthians, there is increased likelihood of its taking place in 1 Corinthians. There are, however, two underlying aspects of this position which call for further discussion.

15. Sellin, '1 Kor. 5–6', p. 540 n. 18, with reference to J.A. Fitzmyer, 'Qumrân and the Interpolated Paragraph in 2 Cor. 6.14–7.1', *CBQ* 23 (1961), pp. 271-80.

16. One can note, however, that Pesch had already made the same attribution of 5.1-8 and 6.1-11 to a letter earlier than the one containing 5.9-13, and had discussed the vice lists in these three blocks of text (*Paulus ringt*, pp. 85-87, 253).

a. *Types of Redaction*

What kind of redaction is meant? Schmithals in commenting on the ending of the letter to the Romans says,

> I cannot agree with W. Michaelis (ThZ 14 [1958]: 322-23) that it signifies an essential difference whether an editor *interweaves* several epistles or *appends* one to another. The former happens (according to my analysis) in I Cor. and in I and II Thess., the latter in Rom., while in II Cor. and Phil. both methods are employed indiscriminately. An essential distinction does exist between a deliberate editing and an accidental conflation of separate writings.[17]

Schmithals, who believes that the editor of the original seven-letter Pauline Corpus had sixteen letters or letter fragments at his disposal, cannot avoid this important problem. What is at issue is how much intelligent action to ascribe to the editor/redactor. Surely we may distinguish at least four types of editor.

(1) An editor with dogmatic and polemic motives who takes blocks of Pauline text out of their original context and uses them to build a larger document that will claim Paul's authority for the positions espoused by that editor. He is thoroughly aware of the theological message of the text.

(2) An editor with a systematic mind who brings like material together with like in order to organize Paul's material and generally make it more useful to the community. He knows the topics addressed by Paul and wants to let Paul speak for himself.

(3) An editor with the practical concerns of publishing a collection of material some of which is in the form of complete letters and some of which is fragmentary. It seems likely that he will make some attempt not to leave fragments hanging at the end. He is concerned with appearances.

(4) An editor who is nothing more than a copyist. He appends one item to the next with perhaps some organizing principle. He is not concerned with the contents of the text and thus may accidentally conflate material that should have been kept separate.

What about 2 Corinthians? My own position is a minimalist one: it seems to me likely that, as in some early lists of the Pauline Corpus,

17. W. Schmithals, *Paul and the Gnostics* (trans. J.E. Steely; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1972), pp. 238 n. 87.

letters to a single congregation were originally grouped under a single heading—'To the Corinthians' and 'To the Thessalonians'. It seems probable that they were arranged in order of descending length, as in our present canon. At some later point the composite nature of the Corinthian and the Thessalonian texts was noted and the material was subdivided into the individual units that became canonical. In the case of the Corinthian material, however, what this subdivision missed was the presence of 2 Corinthians 10–13 still not distinguished from 2 Corinthians 1–9. That is, the original 'To the Corinthians' consisted of three letters: a long one, a middle-sized one, and a short one, and our canonical 2 Corinthians has been left as the combination of two different letters to Corinth. The explanation thus far requires no more than redaction at level (4).

However, the brief passage 2 Cor. 6.14–7.1 is a unique phenomenon. Most scholars consider it to be an interpolation, whether of Paul's own authorship or not. The key question is the amount of editorial intelligence used by the redactor in making this insertion. Nils A. Dahl makes what is probably the best case that can be made for the appropriateness of the insertion into its present context.[18] Although I hesitate to differ with one from whom I have learned so much, I have to ask, 'At how many other points in 2 Corinthians could this fragment be placed with equal or superior appropriateness?' or 'What degree of scholarly imagination would it take to provide a rationale for a random insertion of this block of text into 2 Corinthians?' One must consider alternative hypotheses in order to provide a control for the argument—in this case, to estimate the degree of intelligence used by the redactor. In my opinion, the insertion was not done with much theological insight or sense of letter structure and does not give evidence of redactional activity at more than level (3).

It could be argued, however, that the fragment was non-Pauline and that the redactor's choice of this material indicates polemical motives at level (2) or even (1). This possibility must be allowed. Many consider the passage to be a genuine fragment of Paul's earliest letter to the Corinthians. In my book I reconstructed what seems to be the contents of this 'Previous Letter', a reconstruction based solely on 1 Corinthians itself. I then found that there are four points of contact between this reconstruction and the brief fragment from 2 Corinthians, more than

18. N.A. Dahl, 'A Fragment and its Context: 2 Corinthians 6.14–7.1', in his *Studies in Paul* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1977), pp. 62-69.

enough agreement to convince me of the probability of the 'surviving fragment' hypothesis[19]. If so, then the redactor organized his Corinthian material by inserting this fragment into the text of 2 Corinthians 1–9 instead of appending it to 2 Corinthians 10-13; that is, he worked at level (3).

If, however, the material is not Paul's, the fact may or may not have been known to the redactor. Thus the case for polemical activity is by no means clear. A further possibility is espoused by V.P. Furnish, the co-chairman of the SNTS seminar on 1 Corinthians. In an excellently clear and thorough analysis of the question[20] he concluded somewhat reluctantly that here Paul himself may have been quoting a block of text not of his own composition, that is, that he himself was responsible for its insertion. In this case there is no need whatever to posit redactional activity with respect to 2 Corinthians beyond level (4).

What of the other letters? Suggestions about redaction have been made with respect to Romans, Philippians and the Thessalonian letters. That the text of Romans was edited after it was originally issued is widely accepted. There is clear manuscript evidence to support this opinion, although the sequence of stages by which this editing took place is a notorious problem of New Testament studies. Schmithals proposes three letters to Philippi and rearranges the text of 1 and 2 Thessalonians to make four letters.[21] Few have followed his lead with respect to the Thessalonian material. There are a number of scholars, however, who consider that Philippians is composite.[22] The discontinuity at Phil. 3.2 is a major problem. It is clear, however, that the showcase for redactional activity is 2 Corinthians, but it is not clear that the level of redactional activity in this letter is any higher than level (3).

b. *The Relevance to 1 Corinthians of Redaction in Other Letters*

There is a second problem involving 2 Corinthians. What has redactional activity in 2 Corinthians (at whatever level) got to do with

19. Hurd, *Origin*, pp. 235-37.

20. V.P. Furnish, *II Corinthians* (AB 32A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984), pp. 375-83.

21. See, for example, Schmithals, *Paul and the Gnostics*, pp. 245-46.

22. E.g., among scholars who wrote before Schmithals, J.H. Michael, *The Epistle of Paul to the Philippians* (MNTC; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1928), pp. xi-xii; and F.W. Beare, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians* (London: A. & C. Black, 1959), pp. 1-5.

1 Corinthians? It can be argued that redaction was in the air and that what can be established in one letter can, in this sense, be applied to other letters. But a general propensity for redaction means that we are thinking of multiple redactors working independently with different materials in different places. In this case the link between letters is weak indeed. The motives and methods of one redactor cannot be attributed to another except in the most remote way. And it strains one's historical imagination to be asked to believe that, in the interval between the composition of these letters and the point at which the text became relatively fixed, circumstances arose in separate locations with respect to separate letters that produced more or less the same type of redaction. H. Gamble says bluntly, 'Anyone who does not feel the difficulty of this assumption has not reflected on the matter'.[23]

Schmithals, however, makes a more fruitful proposal: he argues that Paul's letters were collected by a single editor who was responsible for the considerable redactional activity which Schmithals sees in the canonical text.[24] He then argues that the whole Pauline text tradition derives from this editor's work. In this way one can explain with one stroke both the lack of manuscript evidence for the proposed divisions of the letters and the similarity in the redactional activities which are proposed for 1 and 2 Corinthians (and perhaps other letters). At this point Gamble's article is useful again. His work on Romans in particular leads him to say that 'the entire textual tradition [of the Pauline Corpus], by virtue of the number and types of variants contained in it, cannot be adequately accounted for merely by reference to a single source'.[25] And he adds:

> If, then, the Pauline textual tradition goes back to multiple sources, it remains a matter of note in relation to redactional hypotheses that the forms of the Pauline letters remain fundamentally the same in all known witnesses... The case of Romans offers the exception that proves the rule: when textual revisions have taken place they have left their marks in the evidence. Thus it would appear impossible to maintain in any convincing fashion that an editor of a 'first edition' of the Pauline letter-collection was also the agent responsible for redacting various letters and letter-fragments into composite units.[26]

23. H. Gamble, 'The Redaction of the Pauline Letters and the Formation of the Pauline Corpus', *JBL* 94 (1975), p. 404.

24. Schmithals, *Paul and the Gnostics*, p. 272.

25. Gamble, 'Redaction', p. 418.

26. Gamble, 'Redaction', p. 418.

I am no text critic, but if Gamble is right, and he cites other text scholars who also question the single-edition theory, then the redaction of 2 Corinthians at whatever level of intelligence offers little support for theories of redaction in 1 Corinthians. The positing of a redactor for 1 Corinthians is an independent step in the chain of argument, and appeal cannot be made to creative redactional activity in 2 Corinthians.

5. *Theoretical Considerations*

I began my academic life as a chemist, and certain parts of that training have proved of great value to my later literary and historical work. One consideration in particular applies to the present question. Scientists are required to attach a probability calculation to each experimental result. Each measurement is made within an estimated range of error. When the result of an experiment requires a calculation involving a series of measurements, a parallel calculation is carried out using the margins of error for each measurement to determine the overall uncertainty of the final result. Independent investigations of a given end-result reinforce one another and narrow the range of uncertainty. For example, different methods for measuring the acceleration of gravity may be used to support one another. But in instances where one measurement depends on a preceding result, as, for example, when one instrument is initialized with the result of a preceding measurement, the probabilities must be multiplied together.

It may be thought that I am very far from my own discipline and that the analogy cannot be maintained. But in the field of historical and literary studies arguments have structure, and they appeal to logic for their persuasiveness. This structure and logic can be represented mathematically—not exactly, of course, but in terms of estimates of probability. We use terms such as 'doubtful', 'improbable', 'plausible', 'likely', 'very probable', and we speak of the 'burden of proof'. All these terms imply measurement. In our social science world we are often asked to rate our opinions 'on a scale of one to ten'. Quantitative estimates of non-numeric data are entirely possible, indeed they are required if we are to keep track of the overall cogency of a line of argument. Scholars may not need to burden their readers with the calculation, but they should be clear about the probability of each stage of the argument.

How many times in the scholarly literature do we meet an argument

with the following structure: (1) if A, then B, and (2) if B, then C. That is, the author in part one of the paper argues to a particular conclusion. In part two the author builds on this conclusion to argue to a further conclusion. Suppose that each argument is persuasive, and that we estimate that each is probably correct three times out of four, that is, has a 75 per cent probability. Now consider the argument's structure again: (1) if A, then B (with 75 per cent probability), and (2) if B, then C (again with 75 per cent probability). If we ask for the probability of C, given A, the answer is that the overall probability is about 50 per cent, that is, that C is just as likely to be wrong as right, or, in other words, it is hardly worth talking about.

Sometimes stage one of such an argument lies behind the actual paper itself. A dissertation, for example, may build on a conclusion which is a favourite hypothesis of the writer's major professor. Or an author may build on a hypothesis widely accepted in academic circles. But a hypothesis is a hypothesis nevertheless, and its probability must be entered into the overall calculation of error.

That an intelligent redactor has assembled 1 Corinthians from the surviving texts of two or three original letters which can themselves be reconstructed is not a hypothesis, but a pyramid of at least three hypotheses. At the bottom lies the hypothesis of a redactor. What probability shall we assign to it? It does seem that the burden of proof rests with the theory of redaction. The relatively small weight that 2 Corinthians gives to this theory has been discussed, and the lack of manuscript evidence for textual dislocation. But, on the other hand, it has been noted that the evidence of 1 Corinthians itself favours theories of compilation. It is indeed not certain that the present text is in the form in which it left Paul's hand. It is a matter of judgment. My estimate is that the odds are somewhat less than 50–50, perhaps two-to-one against redactional activity, that is, 33 per cent for and 67 per cent against. I would rather accept the coincidence that Chloe's people arrived close enough in time to the arrival of the Corinthians' letter that 1 Corinthians could serve as a response to both types of information than hypothesize the existence of a creative redactor for 1 Corinthians. Perhaps both came on the same boat!

The next level in the total hypothesis is the proposal that we can see in the present text the embedded remains of earlier letters. We are, of course, given clues in the text of 1 Corinthians as to the contents of the 'Previous Letter', the Corinthians' letter to Paul, and the concerns

voiced by Chloe's people. However, the gradually increasing complexity of the analyses that we are offered is a measure of the uncertainty of this procedure. Perhaps we should give the process a 75 per cent chance of being mostly correct.

The top level is the reconstruction of the original letters themselves from the pieces of material now sorted into piles. This process usually assumes that nothing of the earlier letters has been lost except a few salutations and closing greetings. Only this ephemeral material remained on the cutting room floor. One can therefore look for verbal connections between the blocks of text assigned to a given letter. (Note in passing that evidence of verbal connection is in the first instance evidence for integrity).

Space prevents discussion of the contents of the Previous Letter ('Letter A'). It seems clear that 1 Cor. 16.1-11 is Paul's response to questions from the Corinthians about the Collection for the Saints. Their questions seem to be initial reactions to a first announcement rather than problems which had arisen over time. They did not receive this information during a visit by Paul. Had this been the case, the Corinthians' questions and Paul's answers would have taken place face to face. Unless we are to imagine another, otherwise unknown letter from Paul to the Corinthians, this project was announced to them in the Previous Letter.[27] Thus the Previous Letter was occasioned by Paul's need to announce the Collection. To suppose, as Sellin does (p. 552), that this letter was occasioned by oral information about the Corinthians is thus to provide the letter with two occasions, an embarrassment of riches. But more particularly: the absence of such an announcement in any of the reconstructions of the Previous Letter is evidence that important material has been lost, an observation which decreases the probability that such reconstructions can be successful.

Thus the process of fitting the pieces together is the most risky step of all. I would estimate that the best reconstruction has perhaps a 33 per cent chance of being correct.

What these estimates mean is that the overall likelihood of a well-thought-out reconstruction such as Sellin's is below 10 per cent ($0.33 \times 0.75 \times 0.33 = 0.08+$). Obviously others would put the figure considerably higher. To do so, however, they must either show that the logic of their argument does not proceed in the sequential manner outlined above and/or that the probabilities I have suggested are too pessimistic.

27. Hurd, *Origin*, pp. 50-58, 200-206, 233-35.

It is worth noting that the plausibility of a narrative account of the process by which a redactor produced 1 Corinthians has to be distinguished from the probabilities involved in the analysis of the evidence itself. I call the former the 'cover story'. It is the product of historical imagination. Such imagination can produce stories to account for virtually any set of conclusions. The story comes afterwards. It is interesting, but it is not evidence.

To put the matter another way: at the level of complexity of the total hypothesis that we are being offered there are so very many other hypotheses of equal complexity, even though they all may be individually less probable than the one proposed, that the chance of this particular hypothesis being true is very considerably less than 50–50, that is, it is probably wrong. I do not mean that the only solution to the problem before us is to accept the unity of the text. I mean that if unity is denied, then, after perhaps a very limited set of suggestions as to types of source, the alternative is agnosticism, that is, silence.

6. *The Unity of 1 Corinthians*

Much of the discussion of the composition of 1 Corinthians by those who favour unity is conducted in negative terms: reasons are given why one should not, or need not, believe the arguments of those who favour partition. I have argued above that the burden of proof falls rather heavily upon those who wish to subdivide 1 Corinthians, and thus there is some merit to this procedure. Helmut Merklein in his 'Die Einheitlichkeit des ersten Korintherbriefes'[28] goes an important step further by directly rebutting arguments used by those who subdivide 1 Corinthians. However, the unity of the letter is also a hypothesis, although at a higher level of probability. More attention than is currently the case needs to be given to how 1 Corinthians functions as a unified whole. As noted above, my book constitutes one such argument. More recently Margaret M. Mitchell has published her *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: An Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians.*[29] In her words, 'This investigation,

28. *ZNW* 75 (1984), pp. 153-83. For example, he notes that some source critics allow to the redactor inconsistencies which they do not allow to Paul, or expend more ingenuity in finding consistency in the redactor's work than they do in Paul's.

29. Cited in n. 4. See her list of previous attempts to argue for the unity of 1 Corinthians, pp. 4-5 nn. 10-12. It is unfortunate that in order to make her very considerable contribution she seems to feel that she must demolish previous work on

through its understanding of 1 Corinthians as deliberative rhetoric, renders a fully coherent reading of the letter in its present literary form, and thus constitutes a sustained defence of the compositional integrity of 1 Corinthians' (p. 2).

It must also be noted that much of the argument favouring the composite nature of 1 Corinthians focuses almost exclusively on the subject matter of the text, that is, what Paul was saying. The text is viewed as though it were, or should be, a straight-line exposition of theological themes. Thus repetitions and inconsistencies pose a serious problem to the unity of the text. Apparently this view of the text is what critics mean when they say that we must deal with the *literary* problems of the text, that is, apply *literary criticism,* before exegeting the text itself. By 'literary criticism' they seem to mean 'source criticism'. Section 2 of Sellin's 'Hauptprobleme' is entitled 'Literarkritik' but is devoted to source analysis. In this modern age this restricted use of the word 'literary' is odd. Mitchell's use of a rhetorical approach to 1 Corinthians is but one example among the many possible ways to view the text as literature. There are structuralism, post-structuralism, deconstruction, semiotics, narratology and many more.

In my own work I have found that attention to structure is enormously fruitful. How did Paul structure the material we find in 1 Corinthians?

a. *Letter Structure and 1 Corinthians*

In North America in particular we have been influenced by studies of the structure of non-literary letters from the Hellenistic period. This line

1 Corinthians. It is a mistake, in my opinion, to suppose that the success of one type of literary analysis involves imputing failure to others. Her article, 'Concerning ΠΕΡΙ ΔΕ in 1 Corinthians', *NovT* 31 (1989), pp. 229-55, has much valuable comparative material, but she exaggerates the positions of those she wants to challenge ('must', 'only', pp. 232-33) in order to be able to dismiss their conclusions ('not... definitely proven', p. 254). For example, one would not guess from her presentation that I do not claim that the order of the περὶ δέ sections that I (and virtually all other scholars) consider to be Paul's responses to the letter from the Corinthians is the same in both letters. What my book says is, 'There is a certain amount of plausibility to this suggestion, although by the nature of the case it can never be proved' (*Origin*, p. 114). Nor would one realize that I listed six characteristics which bind together the sections which, in my opinion, deal with the Corinthians' letter (some, but not all of which, begin with περὶ δέ) and six other characteristics which link the responses to oral material (*Origin*, pp. 74, 82).

of investigation was initiated for us by Robert W. Funk. It was greatly expanded on by the Paul Seminar (1970–74) of the Society of Biblical Literature under the chairmanship of Nils Dahl, and the work has been carried on by Funk's able pupil, John L. White, as well as by others. Thus we have become accustomed to speak of 'epistolary structure' or Paul's 'letter form'. Our initial approach to a Pauline letter is to see how the text 'works' or functions as a letter. One notes any special elaborations of the salutation and opening greeting as clues to the author's intentions. (In 1 Cor. 1.1-2 Paul emphasizes his apostleship, anticipating ch. 9, and the Corinthians' sanctity, anticipating chs. 12–14, as well as the sections dealing with immorality.) Then, since Paul Schubert's important monograph,[30] one analyses the thanksgiving section for its links with the subsequent letter body. (In the case of 1 Corinthians there are clear references to spiritual gifts ['knowledge', chs. 1–4, 8; 'speech', chs. 12–14] and the Day of the Lord Jesus [ch. 15], and probable references to blameless living ['guiltless', ch. 5–7] and fellowship meals ['fellowship', chs. 8–11].) And one expects that the final section of the letter will concern the continuation of personal contact established, or re-established, in the letter's opening section. Letters in this period had an overall A-B-A' structure (and they still do!). In a manner parallel to the opening section the letter closing looks back on the letter as a whole. (Paul's autograph subscription in particular focuses on the key idea of the preceding letter. In 1 Corinthians the focus is 'love'—chs. 12–14; 8–10; cf. ch. 11.) Thus in general the opening and closing units imply the subject matter of a letter, and in the case of 1 Corinthians they correspond very well with the letter as it now exists.

Further, there are numerous structural signals involving smaller units of the text. That Sellin is aware of work in this area is clear from Section 1, 'Form', of his 'Hauptprobleme'.[31] What is odd, to me at least, is that he does not call on these insights in Section 2 when he deals with the problem of sources. It would seem that the recognition of formal, that is, structural, signals are one of the most powerful tools we have by which to deal with source problems.

30. P. Schubert, *The Form and Function of the Pauline Thanksgivings* (BZNW 20; Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1939).

31. Cf. also, e.g., Sellin, '1 Kor. 5–6', p. 551 n. 53; p. 553 n. 60; and p. 554 n. 67.

b. *The Shape of 1 Corinthians*

In 1958–61 when I wrote the dissertation which became my book, I was innocent of the study of letter structure. I did, however, hit on the device of using Paul's sources of information as a key to analyse the structure of 1 Corinthians. The result is surprisingly neat. After the salutation, greeting and thanksgiving, which form an introduction to the whole letter, Paul dealt with the information which had reached him in oral form. Then in 6.12-20 he made a transition which closed the preceding discussion of Corinthian failings and at the same time made allusions to the topics to follow. These topics were contained in the Corinthians' letter to Paul, which he took up at 7.1. Finally, in 16.13-24 he wrote a section which served to bring the whole letter to an end.

If we sort by probable source, the text of 1 Corinthians may be pictured as follows (asterisks indicate the περὶ δέ, 'now concerning', formula):

Oral information		*Written information*
	1.1-9	
1.10–4.21		
5.1-8		
		5.9-13
6.1-11		
	6.12-20	
		*7.1-24
		*7.25-40
		*8.1–11.1
		11.2-16
11.17-34		
		*12.1–14.40
		15.1-58
		*16.1-11
		*16.12
	16.13-24	

Table 4. *The Structure of 1 Corinthians*

At two points, however, this simple scheme seems disrupted. First, in 5.1-8 Paul discussed a case of immorality within the congregation about which he had heard orally (5.1). Then in 5.9-13 he corrected what he claimed was a misunderstanding of his earlier letter, a misunderstanding about which he had probably heard in writing.[32] Secondly, in 11.2-16

32. Hurd, *Origin*, p. 83.

Paul discussed a problem concerning public worship which was probably raised by the Corinthians' letter.[33] In 11.17-18, however, Paul clearly took up information obtained orally (11.18), and he used this information as the basis of 11.17-34.

Is there a simple explanation for the two blocks of text that float in the columns opposite to their neighbours? My suggestion is that in two instances a topic in the oral information related to a topic in the written. In order to simplify his presentation Paul brought the relevant sections together. First, in the case of 5.9-13 his line of thought was that, if the Corinthians had understood his earlier letter on the subject of immoral persons, they would not have allowed the situation he was complaining about in 5.1-8 to develop or continue. He then made a transition from this rebuke to his discussion of Christians who use civil law-courts (6.1-11), about which he had very probably heard orally,[34] by bringing in the idea of 'judging': 'It is those inside the church that you are to judge, is it not?' (6.12b). Secondly, in the case of 11.17-34 he clearly links the matters concerning worship about which he 'commends' them (11.2-16) with those about which he does not commend them (11.17). He thus interrupted his discussion of the Corinthians' letter to him with comment on a liturgical matter about which he had heard orally (11.18).

There are three blocks in the centre column. These blocks serve to tie the letter together. The first and the middle blocks bracket a major section based (with one exception) on oral information, the middle and the last blocks, a major section based (with one exception) on written communication.

The central block, 1 Cor. 6.12-20, thus does double duty. First, it points back to the preceding discussions. The theme of the radical separation which should exist between Christians and the unrighteous is basic to 5.1–6.11 and is reiterated in 6.12-20. Secondly, at the same time, like the Thanksgiving section (1.4-9), 6.12-20 points ahead to the sections which follow. The quotation, 'The two shall become one' (Gen. 2.24), actually belongs to the arguments of ch. 7. There are even more emphatic connections between 6.12-20 and 8.1–11.1. Almost the whole of 6.12 with its repeated slogan, 'All things are lawful', reappears in 10.23 in the discussion concerning idol meat. And the slogan, 'Food is meant for the stomach and the stomach for food' is an anticipation of

33. Hurd, *Origin*, pp. 90-91.
34. Hurd, *Origin*, pp. 84-86.

the same discussion. The unity theme about which Paul is concerned in 11.17-34 appears in 6.17, 'He who is united to the Lord becomes one Spirit with him'. Possession of the Holy Spirit (here and in v. 19) anticipates chs. 12–14. Chapter 15 is anticipated by v. 14, 'God raised the Lord and will also raise us up by his power'.

The closing block of material sums the letter in a single word, 'love' (16.14, 22, 24), the final two occurrences written in Paul's own hand (v. 21). Love is the ethical ideal to which Paul appeals in ch. 8 and in 10.23–11.1, the argument concerning the 'weaker brother'. Love is central to chs. 12–14. And 8.1b, '"Knowledge" puffs up, but love builds up', serves as his judgment on those who presume to have knowledge (1.10–4.21).

c. *Paul's Response-Letter Structure*

In 1972 as my contribution to the work of the SBL Paul Seminar I wrote a paper on the structure of 1 Thessalonians. I was surprised to discover that this letter exhibits the same gross structure as 1 Corinthians. The letter opens with a Thanksgiving section which points ahead to the main topics to be discussed. Paul then used a form which is more or less characteristic of his other letters ending with 'Apostolic Parousia' material (2.1–3.10).[35] He then made a transition to new material by means of a passage (3.11-13) which points both to the preceding material and prepares for the following discussions. Whether or not the Thessalonians had sent Paul a letter (I think that they had), it seems clear that Paul had received through Timothy a specific list of requests to which he responded in 4.1–5.11. The topics after the first are introduced by the περὶ δέ formula (amplified in 4.13). About two of these topics he remarked that they did not need to have anything written to them (4.9; 5.1), thereby indicating that he was responding to their list of topics rather than following his own.

35. See R.W. Funk, 'The Apostolic *Parousia:* Form and Significance', in W.R. Farmer, C.F.D. Moule, and R.R. Niebuhr (eds.), *Christian History and Interpretation: Studies Presented to John Knox* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 249-68.

Oral information	*Written(?) information*
1.1-10	
2.1–3.10	
3.11-13	
	4.1-8
	*4.9-12
	*4.13-18
	*5.1-11
5.12-28	

Table 5. *The Structure of 1 Thessalonians*

In my opinion, therefore, the structure of 1 Corinthians is not unique[36] but has in 1 Thessalonians a good parallel dating from about the same period of Paul's life.[37]

d. *Paul's A-B-A' Structures*

Very briefly, one further point. Work on chiasmus and A-B-A' structures is noted in Sellin's 'Hauptprobleme',[38] but their importance for the matter at hand does not seem to me to be sufficiently appreciated. Clearly 1 Corinthians 12–13–14 is an A-B-A' pattern, and all but one of those who partition 1 Corinthians place these chapters in the same source. Other examples of the form are found, in my opinion, in 1 Thess. 1.2-10; 2.1-12; and 2.13-16.[39] Also in 1 Thess. 2.17-20; 3.1-8; and 3.9-13. In each case Paul ran through a sequence of thought, digressed to a related topic, and then repeated the initial sequence but invariably with a difference. It seems to be characteristic of Paul that he will present an argument, then bring in a new theme, and finally re-argue the original topic in a new way. I call it Paul's 'sonata' form. When one begins to look for this pattern, numerous examples appear. I consider that 1 Corinthians 8–9–10 is another example of that same

36. *Pace* Sellin, '1 Kor. 5–6', p. 537.

37. It is interesting to note the parallel position of the travel material in 1 Thess. 2.17–3.13 with that in 1 Cor. 4.14-21 (cf. Funk, 'Apostolic *Parousia*', p. 254). The appearance of visit material in 1 Cor. 4.14-21 is used by Sellin (p. 553) and others to argue that this passage was originally a letter end.

38. Pp. 2945-46.

39. So my paper on the structure on 1 Thessalonians, pp. 25-28. Also my essay, 'Paul ahead of his Time: 1 Thess. 2.13–16', in P. Richardson (ed.), *Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity* (Waterloo, ON: Fortress Press/Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1980), I, pp. 28-30.

pattern. If this is the case, then a key argument for partition theories disappears, because the difference between ch. 8 and 10.1-22(23) is the cornerstone of all compilation theories.

7. *Conclusion*

This paper has attempted to present the case that can be, and has been, made for the non-integrity of 1 Corinthians. On the other hand, the paper has argued that the hypothesis of a redactor is a necessary but relatively improbable assumption that underlies partition theories. It has argued further that a consideration of the sequential logic of such theories shows that the overall probability of success of even the best of them is below 10 per cent. As a positive alternative it has indicated a number of lines of investigation which support the present structure of 1 Corinthians, drawing particularly on the parallels between this letter and 1 Thessalonians.

RHETORICAL SHORTHAND IN PAULINE ARGUMENTATION: THE FUNCTIONS OF 'THE GOSPEL' IN THE CORINTHIAN CORRESPONDENCE

Margaret M. Mitchell

> Paul customarily establishes many things incidentally, and is compact [πυκνός] in his thoughts... He doesn't encompass a few thoughts in many words, but in brevity of words [βραχύτητι ῥημάτων] he sets down a great and manifold idea.[1]

John Chrysostom, the rhetorically trained exegete and orator, made this apt statement about Paul's mode of argumentation in the year 403. In considering the rhetorical functions of 'the gospel' in the Corinthian correspondence, one comes immediately face to face with the phenomenon of Pauline shorthand. Spurred on by this valuable observation of Chrysostom's (who was far closer to the literary culture of Paul than we), and his application of technical terminology (βραχύτης) to Paul's terse expressions, in this essay I shall examine Paul's different ways of accessing the gospel in the Corinthian correspondence in the light of Graeco-Roman techniques of rhetorical shorthand.

1. *Introduction: The Gospel and Rhetorical Shorthand*

The basic structure and content of Paul's gospel is a narrative sequence of events which describes God's salvific acts on behalf of humankind.[2] An extended version of this narrative is found close at hand for our

1. John Chrysostom, *hom. in Heb.* 27.1 [*PG* 63.185]; cf. the similar observation in *hom. in Rom. 8.28* 2 [*PG* 51.166].

2. As argued cogently by R.B. Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ: An Investigation of the Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3.1–4.11* (SBLDS 56; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983).

investigation in 1 Cor. 15.3-8: 'Christ died on behalf of our sins according to the Scriptures, he was buried, and he was raised on the third day according to the Scriptures, and he appeared to Kephas, then to the twelve, then to more than five hundred brothers and sisters at one time, of whom most remain alive, but some have died. Then he appeared to James, then to all the apostles. Last of all, as though to one untimely-born, he appeared also to me.' This is the gospel, Paul says, that he handed over to the Corinthians, which he had received. One must exercise caution about assuming that for Paul there was only one formulation of the gospel, or that this was it, but Pauline creedal encapsulations of the gospel do repeatedly contain some central elements, as H. Koester has argued: 'Christ's suffering and death; his sacrifice "for us"; his cross; his being raised from the dead (or rising from the dead); his appearances; his coming again in the future.'[3] We can consider these the basic, well-attested building blocks of 'the gospel' for Paul, which can be expressed and combined in various ways. The resulting composite narrative can be either compacted or expanded, depending on one's literary, rhetorical and theological purposes. One supreme compaction of the narrative is accomplished by the very phrase τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, which serves as a 'superabbreviation' of the whole, functioning as a title which both characterizes its full contents and interprets its meaning for the hearer.[4] The logic of the gospel title is unitary: no single event in the narrative stands apart from or uninterpreted by the rest. In usage the single phrase τὸ εὐαγγέλιον allows Paul, with great economy and elegance, to insert the entire long narrative of God's plan 'according to the Scriptures' into an argument without repeating the whole. Paul does this often, as for him the gospel is the canon or standard with which all expressions of Christian life or thought are to be compared and assessed.

Though 'the gospel' has received abundant attention in scholarship, especially in regard to its lexical antecedents and cultural influences,[5] the

3. H. Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International; London: SCM, 1990), pp. 6-7.

4. 'The gospel' also is the name Paul gives to the events to which the narrative testifies (as in Rom. 1.16-17; cf. 1 Cor. 1.18). My focus is not on the relationship of narrative and event, but on the relationship of that narrative and secondary reflections upon it.

5. See discussion and extensive bibliography in H. Frankemölle, *Evangelium—Begriff und Gattung. Ein Forschungsbericht* (SBS 15; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1988), pp. 58-87.

rhetorical functions of 'the gospel', and other means by which Paul brings the gospel into his arguments, have received surprisingly scant attention. My thesis is that Paul does this primarily by effective use of ancient techniques of rhetorical shorthand, which allow him to allude to the gospel and incorporate it into particular argumentative contexts without reciting the whole all over again each time.[6] I shall identify and analyse three forms of rhetorical shorthand by which Paul accesses 'the gospel' in his letters: (1) by τὸ εὐαγγέλιον and synonyms, technical terms or titles which summarize the whole; (2) by brief allusions to a single component of the gospel narrative; and (3) by metaphorical depictions of the transmission of the gospel. Each of these three techniques is a figure or trope described in ancient rhetorical theory: the first is an instance of βραχυλογία ('brevity'), the second of συνεκδοχή ('synecdoche'), and the third of μεταφορά ('metaphor').[7]

In one sense the phrase τὸ εὐαγγέλιον receives its abbreviative power semantically, because the very term 'good news' (or perhaps merely 'message'[8]) points outside of itself to a content and story which must have been told (at least once) for the referent to be clear to the audience. The way Paul uses the phrase absolutely, that is, without any qualifier (as in about half of Pauline usages), shows that he assumes that the audience knows well to what he refers.[9] Yet even the qualified uses of the phrase, such as τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ or τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, rely as much upon the hearers' acquaintance with the narrative of events to which they refer. The same is true of such Pauline synonyms for the gospel as τὸ κήρυγμα ('the proclamation') and ὁ λόγος ('the word'), which by their semantic nature summarize some

6. Despite the paucity of attention to this crucial issue in Pauline scholarship generally, Hays, *Faith of Jesus Christ*, includes some suggestive phrases which point in this direction: 'the gospel message is manifested in a kind of shorthand' (p. 7); 'recapitulations of the gospel message' (p. 29); 'another encapsulated telling of the same story' (p. 174). Other Pauline 'theological abbreviations' were identified by H.D. Betz, *Galatians* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), pp. 27-28.

7. We shall see that combinations of these three tropes are also possible. Even the theoretical treatments show overlap, despite rigorous attempts at neat distinctions.

8. R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (trans. K. Grobel; New York: Scribner's, 1951), I, p. 87; Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, p. 2.

9. Bultmann, *Theology*, I, p. 87; G. Friedrich, 'εὐαγγελίζομαι κτλ.', *TDNT*, II, pp. 707-37, p. 729; Hays, *Faith of Jesus Christ*, p. 5; G. Strecker, 'εὐαγγέλιον', *EDNT*, II, p. 71; Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, p. 5.

content which must be defined contextually.

But lexical analysis does not sufficiently explain Paul's use of τὸ εὐαγγέλιον; in usage it also has a significant, recognizable rhetorical function. To analyse it we turn to ancient rhetorical theory on tropes, forms of 'substitution of one word for another'.[10] The rhetorical figure βραχύτης or βραχυλογία ('brevity'), as described, for example, in the rhetorical handbook *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, amply suits Paul's use of τὸ εὐαγγέλιον: 'If you wish to speak briefly, include the whole of an idea in a single word [ὅλον τὸ πρᾶγμα ἑνὶ ὀνόματι περιλαμβάνειν], and that the shortest that is appropriate to the idea' (*Rh. Al.* 22.1434b).[11] Very close to Paul's time, and perhaps even composed at his native Tarsus, is the work Περὶ ἑρμηνείας (*De elocutione*) attributed to Demetrius, in which we find the following statement about rhetorical brevity (ἡ βραχύτης): 'it is a mark of superior skill to compress much thought in a little space [τὸ ἐν ὀλίγῳ πολλὴν διάνοιαν ἠθροῖσθαι], just as seeds contain potentially entire trees' [*Eloc.* 1.9].[12] τὸ εὐαγγέλιον and a host of synonyms used by Paul in his letters perfectly exemplify such rhetorical brevity.

A second and related rhetorical trope, which is a tremendously flexible argumentative tool in Paul's hands, is συνεκδοχή: 'when the whole is known from a small part or a part from the whole'.[13] The grammarian Tryphon, who wrote at Rome during the reign of Augustus, gave a full description of συνεκδοχή in his work Περὶ τρόπων ('On Tropes'). Like other teachers of rhetoric, he gives examples of different types of συνεκδοχή, beginning with the two general categories, ἀπὸ μέρους τὸ ὅλον and ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅλου τὸ μέρος.[14] Especially

10. Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* 9.1.5 [*verba alia pro aliis*] (text and translation H.E. Butler, LCL).

11. Text and translation H. Rackham, LCL.

12. Text and translation W.R. Roberts, LCL.

13. *Intellectio est cum res tota parva de parte cognoscitur aut de toto pars* [Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.33.44 (text and translation H. Caplan, LCL); see also Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* 8.6.19; LSJ, p. 1706, H.W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), §3047.

14. He also describes synecdoches which refer to what follows from what precedes, and vice versa, as well as those of cause and effect (as also in Quint. *Inst.* 8.6.19). Such classifications of συνεκδοχή, and stock examples of it, such as 'silver-footed Thetis' (ἀργυρόπεζα Θέτις) and 'white-armed Hera' (λευκώλενος Ἥρη) are found throughout the rhetorical handbooks on style (see the collection of L. Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci* [BT; Leipzig: Teubner, 1882], III).

suggestive for Paul's way of accessing 'the gospel' is Tryphon's overall definition of συνεκδοχή, which points out the phrase's necessary participation in a larger context in order for meaning to flow: 'synecdoche is an expression not brought out in full [οὐ κατὰ τὸ πλῆρες ἐξενηνεγμένη], but standing in need of something from the outside which attends to it' [*Trop.* 1.7].[15] Paul uses συνεκδοχή, this form of shorthand, when he alludes to the entire gospel narrative by reference to only one of its component events, such as when one part, for example, Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ('Christ died'), stands for the whole: ὁ λόγος τοῦ σταυροῦ ('the word of the cross').[16]

Συνεκδοχή appears to be a subcategory of the more overarching classification of βραχύτης. We can see this from Tryphon's definition of βραχύτης, which bears much in common with his discussion of συνεκδοχή: 'Brevity is an expression which has more meaning than just what is heard' *[Trop.* 2.9].[17] He goes on to cite the standard examples of brevity found throughout the tradition of rhetorical education: the utterances of the Delphic oracle, such as γνῶθι σεαυτόν ('know yourself'), and the three word letter of the Lacedaemonians to Philip: Διονύσιος ἐν Κορίνθῳ ('Dionysios is in Corinth'). This is an allusion to the well-known tale of Dionysios II, the tyrant of Syracuse, who inherited the throne of his father, later lost it, and lived out his days as a humble schoolteacher in Corinth. Ps-Demetrius also analyses this famous example in his discussion of βραχύτης, and clarifies precisely our issue:

> For it is felt to be more forcible when thus briefly put [οὕτω βραχέως] than if the Lacedaemonians had said at full length [μακρῶς ἐκτείναντες εἶπον] that Dionysius, although once a mighty monarch like yourself, now resides at Corinth in a private station.[18] Once the statement is made

15. Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, III, p. 195 (my translation). This definition is found also, with little variation, in the other handbooks (compare Anonymous, *Trop.* 7: συνεκδοχή ἐστι φράσις ἡ λέξις οὐ κατὰ τὸ πλῆρες ἐκφερομένη, προσδεομένη δέ τινος ἔξωθεν [Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, III, p. 209]).

16. As argued also by Hays, *Faith of Jesus Christ*, p. 118: '... any allusion to a part of the story presupposes the story as a whole'. The phrase ὁ λόγος τοῦ σταυροῦ is an example of βραχύτης combined with συνεκδοχή, with 'the word' being the compressed notion, and 'the cross' being a synecdoche for the whole of the gospel.

17. Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, III, p. 202.

18. Cf. Tryphon, *Trop.* 2.9: 'For they wish to say, "don't be high-minded, look at Dionysius, now teaching letters in Corinth, the one who formerly ruled as a tyrant"' (Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, III, p. 202).

> in detail [διὰ πολλῶν ῥηθέν], it resembles not a rebuke but a thing narrated [διήγημα]; it suggests the expositor [διδάσκων] rather than the intimidator [ἐκφοβῶν]. The passion and vehemence of the words are enfeebled when thus extended [ἐκτεινόμενον].[19]

This passage is most important for our study, for it provides an explanation of the dynamics of shorthand references to a narrative in other compositions which is contemporary to Paul. The choice of shorthand is due to the literary/rhetorical genre of the writer. If one is not writing a narrative but something else, as in the Lacedaemonians' case an epistolary rebuke, one will not recite the entire narrative, because that will interfere with the chosen rhetorical genre and purpose, and will take the forcefulness out of the new literary creation. Related to this is the role of the author: if one has a purpose in mind other than being a storyteller, one must abbreviate the narrative in order to accomplish that new purpose. One can abbreviate a narrative by synecdoche, as in the Lacedaemonians' letter, by reference to only one of the events of which it is made up.[20] One chooses the event in each case by reference to the new rhetorical purpose (in this case Dionysios's humble ending is chosen to warn Philip of what can happen to tyrants). Or one could abbreviate a narrative by a brief descriptive title, such as 'Dionysios's demise'.

The above cited passage from *De elocutione* provides an exact analogue to what Paul does. Paul does not write narratives, but letters. Those letters address complex issues in his churches through involved argumentation. By means of the title phrase τὸ εὐαγγέλιον and other partial references to the narrative which suggest the whole, Paul is able to construct new texts which incorporate the authority of the underlying gospel narrative through pointed, carefully chosen shorthand references to it. A third rhetorical figure, μεταφορά (metaphor), 'when a word applying to one thing is transferred to another',[21] is also commonly used

19. *Eloc.* 1.8. See also 5.241: 'If they had expanded the thought at full length [ἐκτείνειν], saying, "Dionysius has been deposed from his sovereignty and is now a beggarly schoolmaster at Corinth", the result would have been a bit of narration [διήγημα] rather than a taunt [λοιδορία].'

20. The mention of Dionysios at Corinth automatically implies also his earlier life as a tyrant, and his loss of the throne.

21. *Translatio est cum verbum in quandam rem transferetur ex alia re* ([Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.34.45). Though the definition of metaphor was a matter of discussion in antiquity (as it continues to be of debate in more recent years), similar definitions are found in Aristotle, *On Rhetoric* 3.2; Cicero, *Orator* 27.92;

by Paul. Via metaphor he creates 'vivid mental pictures'[22] which depict the proclamation of the gospel and its effects, and allow Paul to characterize and accent a particular feature of the ongoing history of the gospel which he and his hearers share.

Once the contextual meaning of 'the gospel' was fully established, as by Paul's missionary teaching, it was then possible at a second and later stage of reflection to invoke that known quantity in shorthand, either by a brief phrase, a synecdochical reference, or a metaphorical allusion. Paul used such shorthand references, which served to create and reinforce the social bonds of the group,[23] in service of a variety of specific argumentative purposes: didactic, deliberative, paraenetic, apologetic. As we examine these three types of references to the gospel in the Corinthian correspondence we shall observe how the choices Paul makes in selecting and employing rhetorical shorthand are keyed specifically to his theological and rhetorical purpose in each particular argument.

2. *1 Corinthians*

The gospel plays a predominant role throughout Paul's deliberative argument for Christian unity in 1 Corinthians. Paul's purpose for the letter is announced quite clearly in the πρόθεσις, or thesis statement to the argument in the body of the letter, in 1.10. Paul responded to a multiplicity of contacts from the Corinthian church (1.11; 5.1; 7.1; 16.17-18) through his determination that divisiveness in the church was *the* most important problem which he had to address. Throughout the letter Paul urges the Corinthians to seek unity as the course of action most in conformity with the gospel, and offers himself as an example of one who has sought and lived such conformity.[24]

[Demetrius], *Eloc.* 2.78-90; Tryphon, *Trop.* 1.1 [Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, III, pp. 191-92]. For the power of metaphor to effect rhetorical brevity see Cicero, *De Oratore* 3.39.158; [Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.34.45.

22. *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.34.45.

23. See the conclusion of W.A. Meeks to this effect: 'Not just the shared content of beliefs but also shared forms by which the beliefs are expressed are important in promoting cohesiveness' (*The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983], p. 93). Among the shared forms Meeks mentions are 'extremely compact formulas'.

24. This interpretation of 1 Corinthians is based upon the fuller treatment in M.M. Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: An Exegetical Investigation*

In line with the typology set forth above, Paul draws upon 'the gospel' in three ways in this letter. First, through βραχυλογία Paul uses a variety of shorthand terms and phrases. The exact words εὐαγγέλιον and εὐαγγελίζομαι occur fully ten times in this long letter (noun 4.15; 9.12, 14, 18, 23; 15.1; verb 1.17; 9.16, 18; 15.1). Other functionally equivalent terms or phrases for the gospel also abound in this letter: τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ('the testimony of Christ', 1.6; 2.1 v.l.); ὁ λόγος μου ('my word', 2.4; cf. 15.2, and ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, 'the word of God' in 14.36); ὁ λόγος τοῦ σταυροῦ ('the word of the cross', 1.18); τὸ κήρυγμα (μου) ('[my] preaching', 1.21; 2.4; 15.14); the verbs κηρύσσω ('to preach', 1.23; 9.27; 15.11, 12) and καταγγέλλω ('to proclaim', 2.1; 9.14; 11.26); and τὸ μυστήριον (τοῦ θεοῦ) ('the mystery [of God]', 2.1; 4.1; 13.2; 14.2; 15.51).[25] Secondly, Paul makes terse, synecdochical references to the gospel story in his arguments (1.23; 2.2, 8; 5.7; 6.14, 20; 7.23; 8.11; 11.3, 26; 15.15). Thirdly, Paul includes several most interesting metaphorical depictions of his preaching of the gospel (3.1-2, 6-9, 9-17; 4.1, 15; 9.7, 11, 17). First I shall give a brief sketch of the arguments in 1 Corinthians where the first two types of references come into play, and then treat the metaphorical depictions of gospel preaching altogether.

In the subargument in 1.17–2.5 Paul focuses explicitly on his apostolic preaching of the gospel, using his humble, weak-kneed demeanour as a paradigm of the self-effacement required to counteract the Corinthian divisions which Paul attributes to pride and boastfulness. In this section the term εὐαγγελίζομαι is used only once, in 1.17—the transition verse which introduces the topic—but then the theme is carried forward by synonyms. The first of these, ὁ λόγος τοῦ σταυροῦ ('the word of the cross'), as noted above, is a synecdoche for the gospel narrative in its entirety (including both the death and resurrection of Christ).[26] This synecdoche of the cross for the gospel is named explictly by Paul in 1.23 and 2.2. The idea here is not that Paul preached to the Corinthians a gospel without resurrection (as 15.1-11 shows very clearly), but rather that the whole of the gospel can be alluded to by reference to one of its

of the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians (HUT 28; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1991; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1993).

25. On these as synonyms see Bultmann, *Theology*, I, pp. 87-89.

26. Compare H. Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians* (trans. J.W. Leitch; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), p. 41: 'an exhaustive statement of the content of the gospel'.

parts. The choice of which part depends in each case on Paul's particular argument. Here, where Paul seeks to combat Corinthian self-aggrandizement, he turns to the gospel and its preaching as the standard for Christian life and in so doing elevates the foolish, utterly defeated-looking crucifixion to set the 'worldly standards' (which the Corinthians are emulating) on their heads.

The gospel story, as the exemplification of God's paradoxical logic, necessarily entails a whole new re-evaluation of σοφία, δύναμις and εὐγένεια ('wisdom, power and noble birth') which dismantles the 'human' constructs which are still so operative in the Corinthians' lives and dealings with one another. In place of all this, the gospel offers Christ crucified, a new kind of σοφία ('wisdom'), as 1.30 recapitulates. Then three highly compacted terms, δικαιοσύνη, ἁγιασμός and ἀπολύτρωσις,[27] make abbreviated reference once again to the crucifixion,[28] and to its salvific consequences for those who have embraced the gospel (cf. 6.11).

Paul will make a synecdochical reference to the gospel by allusion to the single event of the crucifixion also in 1 Cor. 5.7 (τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός) to stress the need for holistic cleansing in the body of Christ of a diseased member, and in 8.11 (ὁ ἀδελφὸς δι' ὃν Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν), where the self-sacrificial death of Christ becomes the basis for Christian ethical decision-making because it defines the relationships with persons who might be affected by one's behaviour. The highly allusive phrase found in 6.20 and 7.23 (τιμῆς ἠγοράσθητε, 'you were bought with a price') encapsulates in two words the meaning of the gospel story for the readers in application to specific sexual and moral decisions which are related to how one lives out one's Christian κλῆσις ('calling').

In ch. 9 Paul provides an explicit discussion of gospel preaching and its rewards, as a part of his overall argument in 5.1–11.1 about the nature and proper exercise of Christian ἐξουσία/ἐλευθερία ('right/freedom'). This chapter is an exemplary argument in which Paul puts himself forward as an example of renunciation of rights for the sake of the greater good: the gaining of others and the success of the gospel. The apostolic standard of behaviour is never to do anything which might

27. 'Justification, sanctification, redemption'. Each one of these draws upon a discrete conceptual complex to name the consequences of the Christ event: judicial, cultic and economic.

28. With Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, p. 54 ('the exposition of the cross').

constitute a 'hindrance' (ἐγκοπή) to the gospel (9.12), which stands in opposition to how Paul characterizes some Corinthians' exercise of ἐξουσία as a possible 'stumbling block' (πρόσκομμα) to the weak (8.9). It is Paul who freely introduces the topic of his self-support (it is not a Corinthian charge against him) to exemplify the principle μὴ καταχρήσασθαι τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, 'not to misuse [one's] rights in the gospel' (9.18; cf. vv. 12, 15).

In vv. 15-18 Paul engages in a complex bit of introspection about his role to preach the gospel, which is occasioned by his clarification of a possible misunderstanding in v. 15: he did not just recite all those proofs for why he should be able to receive support from his churches in order to make it so. Instead, his lack of customary payment is due to the divine call which has entrusted him with this sacred stewardship. Further, he muses, he already has his reward (μίσθος): the gaining (κερδαίνω) of new people for the gospel. The very preaching of the gospel is its own reward, he says, in the hope that he is living in conformity with it, its partner (συγκοινωνὸς αὐτοῦ, 9.23). It is that standard of behaviour which Paul urges, by his example, on the Corinthians. The fuller subargument (5.1–11.1) ends fittingly enough with the call to imitation of Paul, as he imitates Christ, that is, as he lives a life in conformity with the gospel (11.1).

In treating the Corinthian conflict at the eucharist (11.17-34), Paul once again calls on the gospel as the proper standard. After a brief, bitter censure of their divisive behaviour, Paul recites the tradition about the eucharistic words of Jesus (11.23-26). He does not call this τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, though the identical language of tradition in 15.3 (παραλαμβάνω, παραδίδωμι) is suggestive. Nevertheless, where the gospel comes to the fore is in Paul's commentary on the tradition, which begins in v. 26.[29] There Paul uses the technical language for gospel proclamation, and the same synecdochical reference to the crucifixion which was so prominent earlier in the letter:[30] τὸν θάνατον τοῦ κυρίου καταγγέλλετε ('you proclaim the death of the Lord').[31] Because the eucharist has this signal meaning, the very proclamation of

29. J. Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief* (MeyerK 7; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 9th edn, 1910), p. 288; Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, p. 201; C.K. Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (HNTC; New York/Evanston: Harper & Row, 1968), p. 270.

30. Especially 1.23; 2.2; 5.7; 8.11.

31. With a peek also at the fuller contours of the gospel story: ἄχρι οὗ ἔλθῃ.

the gospel, Paul's application to the precise situation (v. 27) is to urge the Corinthians to comport themselves worthily (ἀξίως) of it.

Paul also synecdochically alludes to the gospel by reference to the resurrection. In 6.14 (ὁ δὲ θεὸς καὶ τὸν κύριον ἤγειρεν...) he stresses the impermanence of the earthly body, and its ultimate fate, resurrection, as assured by the archetype of God's resurrection of the Lord Jesus. An allusion to the resurrection is also likely contained in the early Christian acclamation κύριος Ἰησοῦς ('Jesus is Lord'),[32] which Paul cites in 1 Cor. 12.3 to assure the Corinthians that everyone who recites this fundamental Christian creed is a spiritual person, and not just those who possess more conspicuous, dramatic gifts.

Perhaps the most important text on the gospel in 1 Corinthians, and indeed in all of Paul's letters, is 15.1-11. Here, interestingly, Paul chooses to recite the kerygmatic narrative in full at the outset of the subargument, and not to allude to it by shorthand. Why? The answer lies in Paul's assessment of the nature of this conflict about resurrection—that in denying the resurrection of believers, some members of the Corinthian community have put the very gospel in question (v. 12). We can see this quite clearly in 15.1-2, where Paul introduces the new topic not as ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν ('resurrection of the dead'), but rather as τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. In 1 Corinthians 15 Paul leads not with the problem, but rather with the solution. The gospel is the common principle upon which Paul assumes agreement with his audience (15.11, οὕτως κηρύσσομεν καὶ οὕτως ἐπιστεύσατε, 'thus we preach and thus you believed'),[33] and which contains what he regards as the clear-cut and only answer to the Corinthians' debate about the general resurrection of believers.

So, instead of synecdoche, in this case we get a full recital and even expansion[34] of the gospel that Christ was raised from the dead, the undisputed point from which he will argue for the concomitant resurrection of believers against those who dispute it (15.12). The gospel Paul

32. Phil. 2.11 shows that resurrection and exaltation are not two separate events for Paul; Rom. 10.9 clearly connects Lordship with resurrection. The shorthand nature of this early confession was pointed out by O. Cullmann (*The Christology of the New Testament* [trans. S.C. Guthrie and C.A.M. Hall; Philadelphia: Westminster, rev. edn, 1963], p. 216).

33. As also in 15.1, ὃ καὶ παρελάβετε, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἑστήκατε.

34. Paul adds himself to the list of the recipients of resurrection appearances (with Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief*, p. 351).

originally preached perhaps did not say anything concrete about the resurrection of believers, but Paul's consistent hermeneutical principle is that the gospel story is not only about the fate of Christ, but also functions typologically for all human beings who enter into the story through faith and baptism. Thus his inductive argument which follows puts forward the proposition by contraries (15.13): if there is no resurrection of the dead, then Christ has not been raised. In 15.14-15 we have a synecdoche of the gospel (τὸ κήρυγμα ἡμῶν, 'our proclamation') previously explicated in full, but this time by reference, as we should expect, only to the resurrection: ἐμαρτυρήσαμεν κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι ἤγειρεν τὸν Χριστόν ('we testified against God that he raised Christ'). The truthfulness of Paul's κήρυγμα is not and never has been in doubt (15.11). Thus he can argue from that shared premise to his inductive claim that A implies B; that is, the resurrection of Christ implies also the resurrection of all believers. In 15.13-19 Paul stacks up the dire consequences for himself and especially the Corinthians if some are right in denying the resurrection of the dead. Having raised the ante, in 15.20 Paul then returns triumphantly to the gospel premise which he has demonstrated and amplifed already in 15.1-11: Νυνὶ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν ('Now Christ has been raised from the dead'). The consequence of this is clear: in Christ all shall be brought to new life (v. 22). In 15.23-28 (and also vv. 51-55) Paul provides a fresh narrative of the events of the endtime, an example of the opposite literary tendency from shorthand: an expansion of the gospel narrative to respond to new questions which the gospel has engendered for those who seek to live it out in the present and look toward the future.

The third form of rhetorical shorthand Paul uses in reference to the gospel is metaphor. In 1 Corinthians Paul employs no less than four different metaphors to describe his imparting of the gospel to the Corinthians: planting a field (3.6-9; 9.7 [a vineyard]; also 'sowing spiritual things' in 9.11); laying the foundation of a building (3.9-17); begetting children (4.15, also feeding them, 3.1-2); and stewarding a household (4.1; 9.17).[35] Each of these metaphors alludes to the underlying foundation story of the church at Corinth—one well-known to the Corinthians for they were characters in it—which includes Paul's arrival at Corinth, his preaching of the gospel narrative to them, their reception of it in faith and the consequent birth of the new community. These metaphorical renditions of the tale of the gospel's arrival at Corinth are

35. Other minor images are shepherding a flock and soldiering (9.7).

thus 'stories about a story.' Most of these passages merely allude to a single incident of the fuller narrative, but 3.6 provides the complete narrative sequence: ἐγὼ ἐφύτευσα, Ἀπολλῶς ἐπότισεν, ἀλλὰ ὁ θεὸς ηὔξανεν ('I planted, Apollos watered, but God made it grow'). The reason for the extended narrative here is that the *sequence* of events (especially Paul's being the first one there) is important to Paul's reading of the history (cf. 3.10-11). Via the metaphorical retellings of the foundation story, either in full or by synecdochical allusion, Paul accents a particular element of the story for use in the present argument:

3.6-9, the abundant growth of the church and the unity of the missionary labourers in the common task;
3.10-17, Paul's singular role in founding the church on the one foundation which is his gospel of Jesus Christ;
4.15 and 3.1-2, the immaturity of the early community and its dependence upon Paul its only father for instruction and correction;
4.1 and 9.17, Paul's sacred and ongoing responsibility for the church thus established, and his renunciation of all self-concern toward the execution of that duty.

In terms of rhetorical strategy we see in all these metaphorical depictions of the preaching of the gospel Paul's wish to ground the Corinthians in solidarity in the story of their origins as a church (with himself as their founder), and in the unity of the gospel story which is at the heart of their common identity and history. Metaphor is a powerful rhetorical tool for this argumentative purpose as it serves to portray in imaginative terms the intimate and harmonious relationship between the apostle and his church which the gospel made possible. We shall see that the breakdown of Paul's relationship with the Corinthians can be charted by the progressively negative metaphorical identities of the Corinthians in the subsequent letters.

3. 2 *Corinthians*

The considerable literary and historical puzzles of 2 Corinthians are in my judgment best explained by the five-letter partition theory, which holds that these individual letters, in the following probable order of composition, have been redacted together to form the canonical letter: 2 Cor. 2.14–7.4 (minus 6.14–7.1), 2 Cor. 10-13, 2 Cor. 1.1–2.13 and

7.5-16, 2 Cor. 8 and 2 Cor. 9.[36] Because literary context is essential to meaning, our investigation of the role of the gospel in 2 Corinthians will proceed on a letter by letter basis. In the letters in 2 Corinthians Paul continues to draw upon 'the gospel' in the formulation of his arguments, though many of the arguments here are apologetic in nature, where in 1 Corinthians they were deliberative.

a. *2 Corinthians 2.14–7.4*[37] *'The First Apology'*

When we turn to the next piece of the Corinthian correspondence, we see that a shift has occurred in the situation. Paul's concern is no longer a church divided, but is instead charges that he is not ἱκανός, not a competent preacher of the word (2.16; 3.5-6).[38] The specific contents of the charge are: Paul does not have appropriate credentials, in particular letters of recommendation (3.1-3); he is deceitful, peddling the word of God for his own financial gain (2.17; 4.2; 6.7-8; 7.2); and his bodily afflictions appear to disqualify him, indicating that he stands under divine punishment (2.16; 4.7-16; 6.9).[39] Paul responds to these charges through an apologetic reflection on what it means to be a κῆρυξ εὐαγγελίου ('a herald of the gospel'), in which he argues that he is a perfectly suitable apostle of Jesus Christ, one authenticated and rendered

36. All interpreters of 2 Corinthians must proceed from an at least provisional assumption about the letter's composition. The five-letter partition theory on 2 Corinthians was championed influentially by G. Bornkamm, *Die Vorgeschichte des sogenannten zweiten Korintherbriefes* (SHAW 2; Heidelberg: Winter, 1961; repr. in *Geschichte und Glaube, Gesammelte Aufsätze* [Munich: Kaiser, 1971], IV, pp. 162-94; English summary in 'The History of the Origin of the So-Called Second Letter to the Corinthians,' *NTS* 8 [1962], pp. 258-64), and has been defended with new arguments recently by H.D. Betz, *2 Corinthians 8 and 9: A Commentary on Two Administrative Letters of the Apostle Paul* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), esp. pp. 3-36, with an extensive history of research. This division hypothesis is the presupposition of this essay, and will not in itself be defended here.

37. Minus the disputed fragment in 6.14–7.1, which I shall leave out of consideration here.

38. R. Bultmann, *The Second Letter to the Corinthians* (trans. R.A. Harrisville; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1985), p. 69; V.P. Furnish, *II Corinthians* (AB 32A; Garden City: Doubleday, 1984), pp. 185-201. It is possible that the Corinthians picked up the word from Paul's own voluntary use of it in 1 Cor. 15.9.

39. My interpretation of this letter is informed especially by P.B. Duff, 'Metaphor, Motif, and Meaning: The Rhetorical Strategy behind the Image "Led in Triumph" in 2 Cor 2.14', *CBQ* 53 (1991), pp. 79-92, and other works cited below. On these charges in 2 Cor. 2.14–7.4, see pp. 81-82.

competent by God (3.5-6), and he implores the Corinthians to receive him as such (7.2; cf. 6.11-13).

Beginning with references to the gospel via βραχυλογία, though the precise term τὸ εὐαγγέλιον is used only twice in this letter (4.3, 4), and the verb is not found, the entire letter is permeated with discussion of it. Other terms for the gospel and its preaching abound: ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ('the word of God', 2.17; 4.2); λόγος ἀληθείας, δύναμις θεοῦ ('word of truth, power of God', 6.7);[40] ὁ λόγος τῆς καταλλαγῆς ('the word of reconciliation', 5.19); ὁ θησαυρὸς οὗτος ('this treasure', 4.7); λαλέω ('to speak', 2.17; 4.13); κηρύσσω ('to preach', 4.5); πρεσβεύω ('to act as an ambassador', 5.20), and most conspicuously διακονία/διάκονος ('ministry/minister/mouthpiece'),[41] which is used fully ten times (3.6, 7, 8, 9; 4.1; 5.18; 6.3, 4). The synonymous phrases ὁ λόγος τῆς καταλλαγῆς ('the word of reconciliation')[42] and ἡ διακονία τῆς καταλλαγῆς ('the ministry of reconciliation') in 5.18-19 also function synecdochically; as usual the synecdoche fits the rhetorical purpose, for the reconciliation the gospel proclaims God has made possible through the cross of Christ is also sorely needed in Paul's relationship with the Corinthians. The diplomatic terms 'ambassadoring' and 'proclaiming as a herald', as well as the words διακονία and διάκονος, are carefully chosen to accent and substantiate the apologetic claim that Paul is a divine envoy authenticated and given a specific commission to preach the gospel, and to preface Paul's ultimate call for an open reception at Corinth.

This letter also abounds in synecdochical references to the gospel through short citations of a part or parts of it. In 4.5 Paul sums up the gospel as the proclamation that Jesus Christ is Lord (cf. 1 Cor. 12.3), the reference to the resurrected/exalted one. The death of Christ is the accent in 5.14 and 21, the resurrection in 4.14. The death and resurrection of Christ appear in tandem in the two halves of verses 4.10 and 11, and in the economical paired participles in 5.15, τῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντι καὶ ἐγερθέντι. Other references to the whole gospel story by reference to a single event are in 4.5 (the downpayment of the spirit), and 5.4 and 10, which refer to the future events of the

40. With 1 Cor. 1.18, 24, 30.

41. J.N. Collins, *Diakonia: Re-Interpreting the Ancient Sources* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), esp. pp. 195-203, has persuasively argued that these terms refer to the function of 'mouthpiece' or 'intermediary'.

42. Parallel to ὁ λόγος τοῦ σταυροῦ in 1 Cor. 1.18.

eschatological cosmic victory and judgment of human deeds. The most complete narrative scheme in this letter is in 4.14, which begins, not with the death of Jesus (which is nonetheless synecdochically implied), but with his resurrection, and extends to the promise of the resurrection of believers, and their future presentation before the judgment seat.

The heart of Paul's strategy for self-defence in this letter is his claim that his very person serves as a 'rhetorical abbreviation' of the gospel.[43] We see this especially in 2 Cor. 4.10, where Paul describes himself as πάντοτε τὴν νέκρωσιν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι περιφέροντες ('always carrying around in the body the death of Jesus'). The 'death of Jesus', too, is a synecdoche for the entire gospel (called metaphorically here ὁ θησαυρός)[44] which Paul carries around in his body (also metaphorically depicted, ἐν ὀστρακίνοις σκεύεσιν, 'in earthen vessels', 4.7).[45] In the continuation of 4.10 Paul explains how his very real life and self constitute a synecdoche of the gospel: through the apostle's likeness to Jesus' dying the full incorporation and depiction of the entirety of the gospel, including resurrection, is represented in Paul's very body for all to see (ἵνα καὶ ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι ἡμῶν φανερωθῇ, 'so that also the life of Jesus might be manifested in our body').[46] The synecdochical logic which lies behind 4.10-11 is that the death and resurrection of Christ are inseparable and constitute the indivisible unity of the kerygma. Paul employs this concept in his apologetic argument to convict those who misunderstand the integral unity of the two and see only death in Paul's body, acute suffering which would appear to repudiate his religious legitimacy. The apostle, by holding unwaveringly to the unity of death and life in the gospel, and by this synecdochical claim for himself, reinterprets his sufferings over and against his opponents. His sufferings, far from repudiating his authenticity as a διάκονος Χριστοῦ, are instead his very marks of

43. This can be seen elsewhere in Paul's letters, also: Gal. 1.16 (ἐν ἐμοί); 2.20; 3.1 (this is how I understand προεγράφη); 6.17; 2 Cor. 1.5; Phil. 3.10. For the concept, see P.B. Duff, 'The Language of Processions in 2 Corinthians 4.7-10', *BTB* 21 (1991), pp. 158-65, esp. p. 163: 'Paul's suffering has come to function as a visual counterpart to the oral proclamation of the gospel'.

44. H. Windisch, *Der zweite Korintherbrief* (KEK 6; ed. G. Strecker; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970), p. 141.

45. Bultmann, *The Second Letter to the Corinthians*, p. 112.

46. See already Chrysostom, *hom. in 2 Cor.* 9.1: ὥστε τοῦτο ὃ δοκεῖ ἀσθενείας εἶναι καὶ ἐγκαταλείψεως, τοῦτο αὐτοῦ κηρύττει τὴν ἀνάστασιν [*PG* 61.460].

apostolic identification with his Lord, not only in death but also in the resurrection which it must imply. As for those who do not see this, the fault is theirs: they fail to fill in the synecdoche, and thereby will gain for themselves only the death that they see in him (2.15-16; 4.3-4). Blind to the glory of Christ which shines in Paul's gospel, they place themselves among 'the lost'.

Again in this letter Paul uses powerful metaphors to depict his preaching of the gospel, and to accent its reception by those who hear it. The letter begins with two key metaphors: the military term θριαμβεύειν ('lead in triumph') in 2.14, and the olfactory image of 2.15 (Χριστοῦ εὐωδία ἐσμέν, 'we are Christ's sweet smell'). Both metaphors are chosen precisely for their double nature: is Paul the victorious general or the condemned prisoner 'led in triumph'? Is he spreading a sweet scent of salvation or the sick smell of death and defeat? The answer is that it depends upon the observer; it depends upon the one who hears Paul's gospel to ascertain correctly that God has commissioned him and speaks through him (2.17; 3.5-6; 5.19-20; 6.7).[47] Through the use of these combined metaphors, Paul maintains the image of a 'procession' throughout the letter (military, cultic, and epiphanic) to describe his activity of the apostolic mission bringing the gospel ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ('in every place', 2.14).[48] The purpose of this procession, like any other, is φανέρωσις, 'disclosure':[49] Paul's preaching indeed manifests the very 'light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ' for those who can perceive correctly.[50] This 'manifestation' of the gospel in the world is depicted

47. See the excellent treatment of these images and their rhetorical function by Duff, 'Metaphor, Motif, and Meaning', pp. 79-92.

48. 'The Corinthians might perceive Paul to be at death's door but, according to the apostle's metaphor, he is in reality carrying around and displaying the process of Jesus' death as a procession would carry around a cult object or even a scene from the life of the deity' (P.B. Duff, 'The Transformation of the Spectator: Power, Perception, and the Day of Salvation', *SBLSP* 26 [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987], pp. 233-43, p. 238).

49. Duff, 'Metaphor, Motif, and Meaning,' pp. 90-91. The terms are recurrent in this letter: φανερόω in 2.14; 3.3; 4.10, 11; 5.10, 11, and the noun φανέρωσις in 4.2.

50. Displays in Graeco-Roman processions also had a synecdochical character, as indicated by Duff, 'The Language of Processions', p. 163: 'Consequently, Paul's metaphorical procession, as it were, features only one scene from the life of Jesus, his crucifixion. On the other hand, the grapes-turned-to-wine display in the same

through various images of light and illumination, which serve to stress the abundant, clear power of Paul's gospel to mediate the truth to human beings who can see inside the 'clay vessels' held aloft in the procession to the very εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ ('image of God') which is contained therein.[51]

Near the end of the letter Paul switches the processional metaphor to a diplomatic parade (5.18-6.2). This metaphor serves to reinforce once again Paul's role as divine herald, commissioned by God to offer a message of reconciliation. He hints in 6.1 that possibly the Corinthians are straying from their initial acceptance of God's gracious word, and calls them to return to unity with God through open reception of his envoy, one who is attested by his tremendous steadfastness in purpose to live out his role, always holding to the principle that nothing should give hindrance to the spread of the gospel (6.3; cf. 1 Cor. 9.12).

As in 1 Corinthians we see in 2 Cor. 2.14–7.4 that metaphorical language seems most suitable to Paul to depict the nature of evangelization. Here, rather than serving an exemplary function, the metaphors for evangelization (as also the shorthand and synecdochical references to the gospel) serve to defend Paul against charges that he is not a suitable proclaimer of the gospel and to indict those who made such charges of an even greater mistake: being blind and deliberately resistant to God's plan to bring salvation and reconciliation through his chosen envoy, Paul. An index of the growing tenseness of the situation is that in this metaphorical complex the Corinthians are depicted as disengaged spectators of the Pauline procession whose response, positive or negative, is awaited.

b. *2 Corinthians 10–13 'The Second Apology'*

After a painful visit to Corinth, and the poor reception of the first Apology, Paul wrote the angry, sarcastic letter now found in 2 Corinthians 10–13. The situation has gone from bad to worse, as Paul is now under an intensified charge: that he is illegitimate, ἀδόκιμος, 'one who has failed the test' (10.18; 13.3, 6). This accusation has several components: Paul is not an apostle because he lacks the signs of the 'true' apostles (whom Paul characterizes as 'super apostles' and 'false

procession [of Dionysus] also clarifies Paul's metaphor. Just as the Dionysus procession exhibited to bystanders the miracle wrought by the deity for the sake of humankind, so too Paul's procession exhibits the miracle of Christ's resurrection.'

51. This was noted well by Collins, *Diakonia*, p. 203.

apostles') who have arrived in Corinth and with whom the Corinthians compare him (10.7; 11.5, 13, 22; 12.11-13). His physical disabilities continue to be interpreted as signs of weakness and failure (10.1-2, 10; 11.21, 29-30; 12.5; 12.21; 13.9). This came to a full boil during his visit to Corinth when he was humbled and humiliated (12.21), and left the Corinthians with the impression that he is bold with them when absent and writing letters, but a weak no-account in person (10.1-2, 10). The charge of inconsistency of behaviour in letter and in person relates also to the key charge of financial impropriety: the Paul who made such a *cause célèbre* of not receiving financial support from the Corinthian church wrote letters and sent delegates when absent asking for money for his grand plan, the collection for the saints in Jerusalem (1 Cor. 16.1-4; 2 Corinthians 8 and 9). Thus he is guilty of double deceit and mail fraud in his attempt to fleece the Corinthians from a distance (12.13-18; cf. 11.5-9). Furthermore, he was 'out of bounds' in going to Corinth in the first place (10.13-16).

Paul responds to these charges with an ingenious, bitter apologia. Through a variety of strategies, including threats (10.1-6) and counter-charges,[52] Paul vigorously denies the charge of extortion (11.7-9; 12.13-18), and claims for himself the titles of ἀπόστολος and διάκονος Χριστοῦ ('apostle' and 'mouthpiece of Christ', 11.5, 23; 12.11). This part of the argument, centred in the 'Fool's Speech' in 11.1–12.13, is the most powerful and rhetorically risky, as Paul is constrained to admit the charge of weakness, but then redefines the criterion of true apostleship in such a way that his weakness is precisely what authenticates him. He also claims consistency in letter and in person (10.11), and above all emphasizes at the beginning and end of the argument his proper motive: he sought the upbuilding of the Corinthians, not their destruction (10.8; 13.10).

In 2 Corinthians 10–13 Paul again employs βραχυλογία for the gospel narrative in his argumentation, though it plays less of a key role in this letter than in the previous two. The terms εὐαγγέλιον and εὐαγγελίζομαι are found in 10.14 and 16, in reference to missionary boundaries, as Paul defends his God-given authority to preach the gospel in Achaia and beyond. What is most striking in this letter is the fact that more frequent than Paul's usual shorthand terms for the gospel are the negatively refashioned counterparts of those terms which caricature his

52. Against the 'false apostles' (10.12-18; 11.13-20), and against the Corinthians themselves (13.3-5).

opponents: ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον ('another gospel', which is functionally equivalent to ἄλλον Ἰησοῦν κηρύσσειν, 'to preach another Jesus'; 11.4), ψευδαπόστολοι ('false apostles', 11.13), and οἱ διάκονοι σατανᾶ ('mouthpieces of Satan', 11.14-15). Each of the last phrases is predicated on the understanding that an apostle or an intermediary is sent by someone; Paul retains that logic, but unmasks the real senders of his opponents through these terse phrases. In the 'Fool's Speech' Paul even attributes such 'non-evangelistic' qualities to himself: when being the fool (ἄφρων) he does not 'speak according to the Lord' (οὐ κατὰ κύριον λαλῶ), and on his heavenly journey he heard ἄρρητα ῥήματα ἃ οὐκ ἐξὸν ἀνθρώπῳ λαλῆσαι ('inexpressible words which it isn't lawful for a human being to speak', an unfortunate predicament for a preacher!). This is consistent with his overall defence strategy of boasting only in his weakness, his redefined criterion for apostolic authenticity (12.9).

Synecdochical references to the gospel are also found, though minimally, in this letter. The most important one is in 13.3-4, where Paul grounds christologically his claim that weakness is the characteristic of the true διάκονος Χριστοῦ. Here the crucifixion is named as an event (ἐσταυρώθη, 'he was crucified'), and interpreted for this context (ἐξ ἀσθενείας, 'from weakness'). In three words this calls to mind the whole story of the passion of Jesus. The next event is depicted in the present tense (ζῇ, 'he lives'), which encompasses the past resurrection of Christ and his current exalted state,[53] here too interpreted for the context (ἐκ δυνάμεως θεοῦ, 'from God's power'). This terse kerygmatic reference serves here to anchor Paul's apologetic claim that Christ indeed speaks in him (13.3). In 13.4b he resumes the synecdochical logic used so powerfully in the previous letter: since the gospel is unitary, Paul who is one with his Lord in weakness will surely also share in his resurrected glory. In 11.7, by means of the two pointed terms ταπεινοῦσθαι and ὑψοῦσθαι, Paul describes a more distributive approach to the gospel: he was humbled, like Christ (cf. 10.1), so that the Corinthians might receive the consequent exaltation (cf. 4.12). This serves of course to accent his selfless behaviour on their behalf in the face of claims that he tried to abscond with their money.

Paul uses four different metaphors to describe the preaching of the gospel in this letter: brandishing weapons of war (10.3-5); exploring and founding new territory (10.12-18); and two parental images: the father

53. Furnish, *II Corinthians*, p. 571.

who betrothed his daughter to a future son-in-law (11.2-3), and a parent who saves up money for his children (12.14). The military metaphor in 10.3-6 commences Paul's apologia with terrifying force.[54] Disobedience, rebellion against the gospel (ἡ γνῶσις τοῦ θεοῦ),[55] will not be condoned and must be punished. Above all, Paul's combativeness is not due to some 'human' bellicosity, but is rooted in the divine prerogative. God's ordaining of Paul's mission is also the point of the geographical metaphor of 10.12-18: God apportioned the 'measure of jurisdiction'[56] so that Paul was the first one to arrive in Corinth with the gospel, and therefore has territorial rights there and even beyond. This metaphor serves Paul's defensive purpose by demonstrating that it is the 'inroaders' who are out of bounds, who do not have the Lord's recommendation for their work, who are therefore ἀδόκιμοι, 'disqualified'. The metaphor of the father who betrothed his daughter has a stinging effect on the Corinthians: they have gone off with 'another' lover before the 'wedding day', the day of presentation, the parousia. So Paul writes with God's own jealousy (11.2), as buttressed by a deep biblical tradition beginning already with Eve, to rebuke the Corinthians and call them back to fidelity to the 'one man' to whom they were betrothed, Christ. These overwhelmingly negative metaphors—enemies, disputed territory, unfaithful daughter—reflect the disintegration of Paul's relationship with the Corinthians. But near the end of the letter (12.14-15) Paul returns to the more intimate parental image, one used before in his letters to them (1 Cor. 4.15) to stress his absolute loving-kindness for them, and his trustworthiness.

c. *2 Corinthians 1.1–2.13; 7.5-16 'The Letter of Reconciliation'*

Through the Second Apology and the mediating role of Titus,[57] the Corinthians were led to repent of their rebellion against Paul, and sent Titus to tell him of 'their desire, their mourning and their zeal for him' (7.7). That letter had achieved Paul's goal: to turn the community to obedience to him as their apostle (2.9; 7.15; cf. 10.5-6). In response to

54. The philosophical context of this image has been carefully explored by A.J. Malherbe, 'Antisthenes and Odysseus, and Paul at War', *HTR* 76 (1983), pp. 143-73.

55. Furnish, *II Corinthians*, pp. 456, 462 (cf. 2.14).

56. Translation of Furnish, *II Corinthians*, p. 471.

57. On which see M.M. Mitchell, 'New Testament Envoys in the Context of Greco-Roman Diplomatic and Epistolary Conventions: The Example of Timothy and Titus', *JBL* 111 (1992), pp. 641-62.

Titus's report, Paul writes the present letter to reaffirm the relationship from his end, in particular by defending himself against lingering concerns of the Corinthians about his behaviour. This can be seen readily in the πρόθεσις ('thesis statement') to the argument, which is apologetic in nature: οὐκ ἐν σοφίᾳ σαρκικῇ ἀλλ' ἐν χάριτι θεοῦ, ἀνεστράφημεν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, περισσοτέρως δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ('not in fleshly wisdom, but in the grace of God, have we behaved in the world, and especially to you', 1.12). Two issues loom in the Corinthians' minds which call into question Paul's goodwill toward them: he cancelled his promised visit (1.15-17, 24; 2.1-3), and he wrote a 'poison-pen' letter which caused them grief (7.8-12). In the present epistle Paul defends his goodwill and sincerity (1.12) through explaining why he had behaved as he did toward the Corinthians.[58] Above all he stresses that he and the Corinthians were and are united in the same sufferings and comfort, and are thus friends and compatriots in the gospel. This letter does not celebrate a reconciliation already in place,[59] but instead is the last, crucial piece in the process of reconciliation Paul and the church had to undergo to repair a sorely tested relationship.

Shorthand references to the gospel are rare in this letter, for Paul is engaged here, not with nuanced interpretations of the gospel's original proclamation and reception in the church, nor with secondary application of the gospel to pastoral problems. Instead, Paul's discourse in this letter is at a tertiary level, where he exegetes the events of the subsequent relationship between himself and the church, and in particular his own prior letter. The term εὐαγγέλιον occurs only once, in the travelogue in 2.12, where Paul explains that he went to Troas 'for the gospel of Christ' and had good opportunities there, but was so concerned about the Corinthians that he departed to intercept Titus in Macedonia. This is part of Paul's extended defence about the painful

58. The function of 'goodwill assurances' and defence arguments in the reconciliation process can be seen in the correspondence of Cicero (e.g., *Epistulae ad Familiares* 3.5, to Appius, a letter which bears some very interesting similarities to this letter of Paul's).

59. So Bornkamm, 'Vorgeschichte,' pp. 165, 174 (his meaning for the title 'Der Versöhnungsbrief' can be seen on p. 172: 'der Streit beigelegt ist und der Apostel in grosser Freude von der Aussöhnung sprechen kann'). Similarly W. Schmithals referred to it as 'the letter of joy' (*Gnosticism in Corinth* [trans. J.E. Steely; Nashville: Abingdon, 1971], p. 97). Bultmann has better caught the apologetic nature of this letter, subtitling it 'The Justification of Paul before the Community' (*The Second Letter to the Corinthians*, p. 32).

letter he wrote (2.3-9; 7.8-12): he did not write it in order gratuitously to inflict pain upon his friends, and he certainly did not enjoy sending it. In fact, he was in great pain, just as they were, during its composition, and for the entire time it was on its way to them, and was not relieved of that concern until he heard from Titus of its favourable reception (2.4, 12-13; 7.5-6).

Most interesting is the common Pauline βραχυλογία in 1.18, ὁ λόγος ἡμῶν ('our word'), for there it functions as a *double entendre*.[60] The immediate concern is Paul's apparently broken promise to come and visit the Corinthians. He defends his 'word' about the visit by reference to his 'word', the gospel. The substance of this defence is an appeal to the recognized truth of his prior gospel proclamation as proof of the veracity of all of Paul's speech, because it stands confirmed by God (cf. 7.14, in the conclusion to the letter).

Paul also refers to the gospel through synecdoche in this letter. In particular, he extends the principle of the implied unity in the gospel of crucifixion and resurrection not only to his own sufferings (1.5), as we saw often in other letters, but also at a third remove, to the Corinthians (1.6-7). By sharing in Paul's sufferings (1.6), as he in Christ's (τὰ παθήματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, 1.5), the Corinthians too are assured of comfort, παράκλησις. The latter term is a resounding theme of this letter.[61] It stands in 1.5 as a συνεκδοχή for the gospel by reference to the resurrection.[62] This is not one of Paul's usual shorthand terms, but it is chosen deliberately in this case because it is the opposite of suffering (θλίψις, λύπη), which is the occasion of this letter. The present sufferings of the Corinthians, just like those of Paul, in the gospel are known also to imply comfort. This synecdochical logic serves then also to unite Paul and the Corinthians in common suffering (and comfort), part of Paul's proof that he and they are united.[63]

A last synecdoche of the gospel is in 1.19: ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ υἱὸς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ ἐν ὑμῖν δι' ἡμῶν κηρυχθείς ('the Son of God, Jesus

60. With Furnish, *II Corinthians*, p. 145.

61. The noun and the verb, παρακαλέω, appear ten times in 1.3-7 alone; also in 7.6, 7, 13.

62. Furnish regards the resurrection as 'implicit in the concept of comfort' (*II Corinthians*, p. 119).

63. For it is the very definition of an enemy that she or he rejoices when you grieve. Friends are those who grieve and rejoice in common (see Mitchell, *Paul*, p. 162). That is why Paul must stress that he grieved also at the letter which caused them such sorrow.

Christ, who was preached among you through us'). The content of the gospel here is summarized as 'the Son of God, Jesus Christ'. This is the only place in the Corinthian letters where the sonship of Christ is the accented abbreviation for the gospel narrative.[64] As always, Paul's synecdoches are chosen for his particular rhetorical purpose. Here Paul wants to emphasize God's faithfulness in the gospel as the paradigm of his own faithfulness in speech.[65] This is seen quite clearly in 1.20, where the emphasis is on Christ as the fulfilment of God's spoken prophetic promises, now known to have been true. Thus the earlier testimony of Paul's mouth—the gospel, God's eternal truthfulness—demonstrates his continual veracity in all matters.

Interestingly, in this letter Paul uses no metaphors to describe his preaching of the gospel to the Corinthians. This is because his focal point is no longer the foundation of the community, but rather its ongoing relationship with the apostle. The characterization of that relationship which is most suitable for a letter which seeks to restore their unity and mutual goodwill is that of κοινωνοί, of shared sufferings and shared comfort (1.7) which are rooted in and interpreted by the gospel message.

d. *2 Corinthians 8: An Administrative Letter*

This short letter urges the Corinthian Christians to resume the collection for the saints in Jerusalem which they had begun over a year ago. The first part of the letter (vv. 1-15) contains deliberative arguments urging the Corinthians to participate in the collection, where the second part (vv. 16-24) consists of the authorization and commendation of the delegates, Titus and the brothers, who will bring this letter to Corinth and complete the work of the collection.[66]

There is only one explicit reference to the gospel in this letter, in the commendation of 'the brother' (8.18), but this does not play an important rhetorical function since it is more a reference to the work of a Christian missionary ('in the gospel') than to the underlying gospel narrative.[67] But a most interesting shorthand reference to the gospel narrative is in the first line of the letter: ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ δεδομένη

64. Except a minor reference at 1 Cor. 1.9.

65. Furnish, *II Corinthians*, p. 146.

66. My summary comments on this and the next letter follow Betz, *2 Corinthians 8 and 9*.

67. Perhaps it serves as a synecdoche for the entire work of the church.

ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Μακεδονίας ('the grace of God which has been given in/to the churches of Macedonia'). The phrase ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ encompasses the whole of God's salvific acts as told in the gospel. Yet again, however, Paul has chosen a shorthand phrase well-suited to his rhetorical purpose, for the phrase also refers to human gift-giving (as accented here by the participial attribute, ἡ δεδομένη), the object of this letter and of the Macedonians' exemplary behaviour. The phrase thus is a *double entendre* which links the course of action Paul urges on the Corinthians with the larger scheme of God's beneficent acts in the gospel.[68] That the term χάρις ('grace/gift') is a shorthand for the gospel is clear also from 8.9, where it introduces a unique synecdochical reference to the gospel narrative: γινώσκετε γὰρ τὴν χάριν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι δι' ὑμᾶς ἐπτώχευσεν πλούσιος ὤν, ἵνα ὑμεῖς τῇ ἐκείνου πτωχείᾳ πλουτήσητε ('For you know the grace/generous act[69] of our Lord Jesus Christ, that for your sakes though rich he became poor, so that by his poverty you might become rich'). This highly compact and allusive christological and soteriological formulation of the underlying gospel narrative,[70] with its kenotic structure (as well known from Phil. 2.5-11), has been fashioned by Paul in terms of rich and poor precisely to suit this context.[71] Here Paul draws upon the *exemplum Christi* to urge the Corinthians to make their financial contribution to the poor, since they have been given such riches in the gospel.

e. *2 Corinthians 9: An Administrative Letter*

This last extant piece of Paul's correspondence with the church at Corinth is another deliberative letter urging the wrap-up of the collection and giving final instructions for carrying it out. The last three verses of 2 Cor. 9 contain shorthand references to the gospel. The strange phrase ἐπὶ τῇ ὑποταγῇ τῆς ὁμολογίας ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ('for the submission of your confession for the gospel of

68. Betz, *2 Corinthians 8 and 9*, p. 42.

69. The NRSV signals the double meaning by translating 'generous act' but putting 'grace' in a footnote.

70. 'The statement presents in narrative form a summary of the myth. Because its content is known to the readers, the story can be told briefly' (Betz, *2 Corinthians 8 and 9*, p. 61).

71. With Windisch, *Der zweite Korintherbrief*, p. 252; Furnish, *II Corinthians*, p. 417; Betz, *2 Corinthians 8 and 9*, p. 62.

Christ') in v. 13 makes reference to the gospel story and its obedient reception at Corinth, pointing also to the Corinthians' participation in the collection as a further external proof of this faithfulness.

This letter, and the entire Corinthian correspondence, ends with a fitting, most paradoxical rhetorical shorthand for the gospel: Χάρις τῷ θεῷ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνεκδιηγήτῳ αὐτοῦ δωρεᾷ ('Thanks be to God for his indescribable gift' v. 15). The actual referent of course includes the gift of the collection for the saints, but also encompasses the entirety of God's gifts as told and retold in the gospel.[72] The whole of God's saving actions in history, the gospel, is hyperbolically declared in this prayer of thanksgiving to be ἀνεκδιήγητος, 'unnarratable'. Of course this is literally not true, for that would invalidate Paul's gospel and its preaching, which do indeed narrate God's powerful works in the world. This 'apophatic shorthand' has a most remarkable rhetorical effect which is much stronger than a recital of the narrative.[73] The declaration of 'indescribability' becomes itself a compact, rhetorical shorthand for the gospel, the previously described and now assumed narrative of God's saving acts in Jesus Christ.

4. *Conclusion*

This examination of the Corinthian correspondence has demonstrated that Paul grounds his arguments solidly upon an underlying gospel narrative, which he accesses through various forms of rhetorical shorthand—brevity of expression, synecdoche, and metaphor. Though Paul is thoroughly consistent in his frame of reference—the gospel narrative—his references to it are fluid and flexible. Because these shorthand formulations are geared for each specific argumentative context and purpose, they are essential clues for exegesis, and deserve careful and sustained attention. Paul's punctuated abbreviations unite his readers with himself and one another in a common bond of shared language and assumptions, a task central to the formation of ecclesial self-identity and social cohesion, and at the same time allow for elegant economy of expression in the new literary creations, the letters.

72. Betz, *2 Corinthians 8 and 9*, p. 128; C.K. Barrett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (HNTC; New York: Harper & Row, 1973), p. 241.

73. Betz notes that summaries of God's gifts were customary in ancient prayers (there are many instances of such 'liturgical shorthand'), and that this locution presumes an underlying aretalogy, or narrative list of the acts of the deity (*2 Corinthians 8 and 9*, p. 127).

TEMPLES, ALTARS AND LIVING FROM THE GOSPEL (1 COR. 9.12b-18)

Peter Richardson

1. *Introduction*

Writing from Corinth to Rome, Paul claims that 'the kingdom of God is not food and drink'. Or is it? In 1 Corinthians 9 Paul ties food and drink (v. 4) very closely to apostleship (vv. 1-6) and to the gospel (vv. 12b-18). He comes startlingly close to saying that food and drink are matters of the gospel, and perhaps therefore of the kingdom of God.[1]

A pressing difficulty in the expansion of the early church was financial support for those who proclaimed the gospel. In addition to 1 Corinthians 9, concern for this can be traced (1) to the early collection of Jesus-materials in Q 10.2-12, especially vv. 7-9, the implication of which is that the missionaries of the Q-community should be supported in the places to which they travel (Q 10.5-6, 10-11).[2] It is also found (2) in the *Gospel of Thomas*, which combines a command to itinerant missionaries to eat what they are served with permission that such food will not defile (*Gos. Thom.* 14b). In both (1) and (2) the impression is that these arrangements are episodic and temporary. A different approach is found (3) in the earliest Pauline letters, where Paul takes considerable pride in his own labour, working at a trade (1 and 2 Thessalonians); here the impression is of longer-term needs. Another scheme emerges (4) from the letter of thanksgiving to the Philippians—which I take to be early and a separate letter—implying support for

1. Luke 10.8-9 in a curious way joins the saying 'eat what is set before you' with the conviction that 'the kingdom of God has come near you'.

2. This material is in Q1, the earlier stratum of sayings; J.S. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987).

Christian missionaries after they have moved on elsewhere, but apparently not during the initial stay (Phil. 4.15-20; 2 Cor. 11.7-11).

In addition, (5) in Galatians there is an unusual piece of paraenesis, where Paul commands his Galatian converts to 'share all good things' with their teachers (Gal. 6.6).[3] In Romans (6) Paul anticipates future support for a coming missionary thrust into Spain. To these we must add (7) the collection being gathered by Paul and his associates for the relief of the famine distress of the saints in Jerusalem,[4] since this relief fund is an integral part of the gospel proclamation (Gal. 2.10).[5] This divergent set of practices corresponds with, and can be supplemented by, the evidence from the Greek and Roman worlds connected with the discussion and spread of philosophic schools of thought: working for a living (cf. 3 above), begging (possibly cf. 4 above), entering a patron's household (cf. 1 and 2 above, especially Q 10.5-8) and charging fees (possibly cf. 5 above).[6]

Money is a crucial analytical tool in understanding the sequence of the Pauline letters, holds at least one of the keys to the understanding of Paul's biography and is an important factor in the difficulties that face Paul from place to place.[7] Money matters also give direct insight into the

3. On the unusual character of this injunction see R.N. Longenecker, *Galatians* (WBC; Dallas: Word Books, 1990), pp. 278-79; cf. H.D. Betz, *Galatians* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), p. 304.

4. K.F. Nickle, *The Collection: A Study in Paul's Strategy* (London: SCM Press, 1966).

5. The injunctions in the *Didache* to share (4.5-8; 1.5-6) may also relate to the gospel, though this is not so clear. Cf. also *Barn.* 19.10 and *1 Clem.* 16.4. See R. Garrison, *Redemptive Almsgiving in Early Christianity* (JSNTSup 77; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993).

6. See C. Lutz, *Musonius Rufus 'The Roman Socrates'* (Yale Classical Series 10, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), esp. §11, pp. 80-84; R. Hock, *The Social Context of Paul's Ministry* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), pp. 52-65; L.M. White (ed.), *Social Networks in the Early Christian Environment: Issues and Methods for Social History* (Semeia 56, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992).

7. Chronology: G. Lüdemann, *Paul: Apostle to the Gentiles* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984); biography: see G. Lyons, *Pauline Autobiography: Towards a New Understanding* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), though he argues against a polemical and thus apologetic context for autobiographical remarks (p. 224); difficulties: E.A. Judge, 'Cultural Conformity and Innovation in Paul', *TynBul* 35 (1984), pp. 3-24; C. Forbes, 'Comparison, Self-Praise and Irony: Paul's Boasting and the Conventions of Hellenistic Rhetoric', *NTS* 32 (1986), pp. 14-15; G. Theissen, *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity: Essays on Corinth*

social world in which he moved.[8] It is beyond the scope of this essay to sort out all the questions related to money and apostolic support, but it is important to recognize the wide range of financial issues that surrounds this investigation, the main point of which is to attempt a social-historical description of Paul's view of gospel—and his claims to support—in his relations with Corinth. The period of the Corinthian correspondence is precisely the period when tensions between various customs and practices come to the forefront. Prior to this Paul's practice was partly self-support (Thessalonica), partly patronal support (perhaps Philippi).[9] In the later period concern for money problems tails away (Philemon and the disputed letters).[10] During the middle portion of his activity, centred on the Aegean and in Corinth, the financial uncertainties connected with the gospel are intensely controversial.[11]

I shall relate most of my comments to one part only of Paul's argument, 1 Cor. 9.1-18, and especially vv. 12b-14. I shall argue that the significance of the Temple analogy has not yet been fully incorporated into a study of these questions or of this passage, that Paul's reference to the Lord's command needs reconsideration, and that a different light is shed on 'gospel' when the spotlight turns in these directions.[12]

(Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), especially pp. 27-67, 145-74; A. Schreiber, *Die Gemeinde in Korinth* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1977).

8. See J.P. Sampley, *Pauline Partnership in Christ: Christian Community and Commitment in the Light of Roman Law* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press; 1980), esp. pp. 81-87, who argues that all misunderstandings over finances are caused by or connected with *societas*.

9. I presume that the portion of Philippians dealing with support precedes 1 Corinthians.

10. Sampley, *Pauline Partnership*, correctly refers to the 'corpus harmonization' involved in the homogeneous picture of Paul as tentmaker (p. 84).

11. I am seeking a different explanation from that of R.N. Longenecker, *Paul, Apostle of Liberty* (Grand Rapids: Baker House Books, 1964), p. 231: 'It is possible that the willingness to deny himself was early learned in the school of Gamaliel I, for Hillel and his immediate descendants were known for going beyond the call of duty in applying the more stringent rulings to themselves and the more lenient to the people'.

12. D.L. Dungan, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Churches of Paul* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), pp. 3-40. I disagree with important parts of his valuable study; like Longenecker, he appeals to David Daube's treatment, though Dungan correctly stresses that Paul gives no explanation of Paul's use of the Jesus-saying and that his argument amounts to saying that to act 'according to the will of the Lord abuses the church!' (see pp. 15-16, 32-33). P.J. Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish*

2. *The Situation in Corinth*

A brief sketch of the circumstances lying behind the highly defensive tone of ch. 9 is necessary.[13] (1) It has been Paul's practice in some places to work for his own living. He supported himself while in Thessalonica (1 Thess. 2.9-12; 5.12-15; 2 Thess. 3.6-13) and in Corinth (1 Cor. 4.12; cf. 9.15-18). (2) He may have been supported by a patron in Philippi (i.e., by Lydia), though this cannot be certain (Acts 16.15).[14] (3) Paul accepts support from this same congregation at Philippi on more than one occasion while he was in Thessalonica (Phil. 4.15-20). His later admission to the church in Corinth (2 Cor. 11.7-11) that he accepted support from Macedonia is obviously embarrassing to him, because he is so adamant that he does not accept that kind of support. (4) Though we have no knowledge of his practice in Galatia, the advice/command in Gal. 6.6, to which Longenecker has drawn attention, may help just a little.[15] It comes in the context of the ones who 'think they are something' (Gal. 6.3; cf. 2.2, 6-7, 9) who should 'test their own work' (6.4; cf. 1 Cor. 3.10-15; 9.8-12a). I suggest that all of 6.6-10 deals with support by the taught while resident teachers are present.[16]

After his first visit to Corinth (5) Paul agrees to take up a collection for Jerusalem; he invites the Corinthians to share in this gift, an invitation

Law: Halakha in the Letters of the Apostle to the Gentiles (CRINT III.1; Assen: van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1990) treats this as one of six important halakhic traditions (pp. 125-31) and concludes that early Christian apostleship was rooted in a Jewish concept, though Paul's tradition deviates from Pharisaic tradition (pp. 144-49).

13. See P.D. Gooch, *Dangerous Food: 1 Corinthians 8–10 in its Context* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1993), and its review of the high-points of the literature (pp. 135-55); W.L. Willis, *Idol Meat in Corinth: The Pauline Argument in 1 Corinthians 8 and 10* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985), esp. pp. 267-75; H. Probst, *Paulus und der Brief: Die Rhetorik des antiken Briefes als Form der paulinischen Korintherkorrespondenz (1 Kor. 8–10)* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1991).

14. G. Lüdemann, *Early Christianity According to the Traditions in Acts* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1989), p. 183, confidently declares this 'historical fact'.

15. Longenecker, *Galatians*, pp. 278-79.

16. The situation is thus conflictual, as is so much of Galatians. The sowing–reaping analogy (cf. esp. 2 Cor. 9.6-15), the warnings about corruption and eternal life, the injunction to be good to all even the household of faith, are not so much general as they are addressed to teachers.

they accept at that time.[17] Sometime before the writing of 1 Corinthians, however, they become concerned about the collection—both the manner of collecting the money and the matter of transporting it to Jerusalem (1 Cor. 16.1-4). (6) At about the same time, but while he is absent from Corinth, Paul writes his first letter to Corinthian Christians, of which 2 Cor. 6.14–7.1 is likely to be a fragment.[18] In it he both alludes to the collection and, I hypothesize, comments on support for himself.[19] The fragment we have vigorously opposes inadequate notions of partnership (2 Cor. 6.14-15), argues for a concept of the community as a temple (v. 16), constructs a catena of quotations from the Septuagint, two of which argue from notions of purity (vv. 16b-18), and concludes with an aggressive injunction against (ritual?) defilement in favour of perfect holiness (ἐπιτελοῦντες ἁγιωσύνην, 7.1).[20] (7) To judge from slightly later evidence, Corinth drags its collective feet in gathering the collection for Jerusalem (2 Cor. 8.1-24), while other churches in the province of Achaia are more forthcoming (2 Cor. 9.1-15).[21] The Macedonian churches have completed their share of the fund fairly speedily, but the Galatian churches appear to have little interest, for there is a thundering silence both about and from Galatia after the mention in 1 Cor. 16.1 (see Rom. 15.26).

Complicating matters in Corinth (8) is the presence or influence of Cephas and the brothers of the Lord.[22] Cephas at least has been in

17. I here follow J.C. Hurd, *The Origin of 1 Corinthians* (London: SPCK, 1965), especially pp. 200-206.

18. Hurd, *Origin*, pp. 213-70. *Per contra*, N.A. Dahl, 'A Fragment and its Context: 2 Cor. 6.14–7.1', in *Studies in Paul* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1977), pp. 62-69: the person who inserted the fragment may have been Paul himself (p. 69).

19. Hurd, *Origin*, esp. pp. 220-39, 202-206 (I disagree with his view that the Corinthians 'had not offered him financial support'; p. 204); cf. Gooch, *Dangerous Food*, especially pp. 92-97. I differ from both in my hypothesis that the first letter included a brief discussion of support.

20. This seems a natural view of the fragment; it is in line with the often-repeated (but I think wrong) suggestion that it stems not from Paul but from Qumran. See also A.F. Segal, *Paul the Convert* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), pp. 166-71, 228-33: Paul claims 'his personal vocation as a temple servant' (p. 171).

21. I follow H.D. Betz, *2 Corinthians 8 and 9* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985).

22. I leave these matters to one side; I believe it likely that the 'others' of ch. 9 include Cephas and Apollos. See also G.D. Fee, *1 Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, 1987), pp. 409-410.

Corinth, I believe (here following Barrett).[23] Their practice, in distinction from Paul's and Barnabas's,[24] is to presume that support will be forthcoming for them (1 Cor. 9.4-6). They claim the right to food and drink, to take a wife along and not to work. (9) Paul's associates enter the picture to one side.[25] Their roles in the financial questions are not clear: Timothy seems responsible in part for the collection (1 Cor. 16.10-11), but so also is Titus at a later stage (2 Cor. 8.18-24). 'The brothers', and perhaps 'the brother' (2 Cor. 8.22), are involved in some unspecified way.[26] Apollos is not so involved in the money issues, and his relationship to Paul cannot be securely determined (1 Cor. 16.12); his role in Corinth, though obviously important, is not congenial to Paul, in my view (1.12; 3.4-9, 21-23; 4.6-7).[27] As for Timothy (1 Cor. 16.10-11; cf. 4.17-19), Paul seems particularly concerned for his well-being; the threat to which Paul refers seems real, though we are ignorant of what it is. Whether all of these get support from the Corinthian church is debatable; if they do, it must be relatively uncontroversial. (10) Some get food and lodging from individual patrons in Corinth. The three likeliest possible patrons are (a) Phoebe, who is identified as a προστάτης ('patron') of many and of Paul himself (Rom. 16.1);[28] (b) Gaius, a baptisand of Paul's (1 Cor. 1.14), who is identified explicitly as ξένος[29] ('host') of Paul and the whole church (Rom. 16.23); (c) Erastus, the city

23. C.K. Barrett, 'Cephas and Corinth', in O. Betz, M. Hengel and P. Schmidt (eds.), *Abraham unser Vater* (Leiden: Brill, 1963), pp. 1-12.

24. See, e.g., Fee, *1 Corinthians*. Paul had abandoned patronage but other teachers (Cephas and Apollos?) had accepted patronage, 'putting Paul's renunciation into bold relief' (pp. 399-400).

25. M.M. Mitchell, 'NT Envoys in the Context of Greco-Roman Diplomatic and Epistolary Conventions. The Example of Timothy and Titus', *JBL* 111/4 (1992), pp. 641-62.

26. It is hard to say anything about 'the brothers' (1 Cor. 16.11) until we can identify who they are and what they do.

27. P. Richardson, 'The Thunderbolt in Q and the Wise Man in Corinth', in P. Richardson and J.C. Hurd (eds.), *From Jesus to Paul* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1984), pp. 91-111; *idem*, 'On the Absence of Anti-Judaism in 1 Corinthians', in P. Richardson (ed.), *Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity*. I. *Paul and the Gospels* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1986), pp. 59-74.

28. P. Richardson, 'From Apostles to Virgins: Romans 16 and the Roles of Women in the Early Church', *Toronto Journal of Theology* 2/2 (1986), pp. 33-61.

29. Ξένος is more usually a 'guest', but it also often refers to the 'host'; the word implies close ties of hospitality, and between states, a treaty. See LSJ, *ad loc.*

treasurer (ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως, Rom. 16.23). Also possible are (d) Crispus or Stephanas, also baptisands of Paul's (1 Cor. 1.14-16); Chloë (1.11), one of Paul's informants; or Fortunatus or Achaicus, also informants of Paul's (16.17). The implications of προστάτης (Phoebe) and ξένος (Gaius) make it probable that patronage along the line of philosophical practices is a factor in Corinth, even if we cannot say for certain who was patron to whom.[30]

The financial demands on a relatively small church group may have been substantial. They are also complex. More important, however, is the degree to which this matter of support for Paul, for other apostles, for the saints in Jerusalem and perhaps for various associates becomes controversial, so that it threatens the integrity and even the proclamation of the gospel.[31] When roles, functions, activities and travel plans are discussed, money issues lurk in the background: on the one hand the task of proclaiming the gospel requires money to provide free time; on the other hand patronage creates ties of dependence and subordination, whiffs of a system that entails mutual obligations.[32] Service in the cause of Christ—stewardship of God's mysteries (1 Cor. 4.1)—is not a simple or uncomplicated task. It is fraught with the possibility of misunderstanding, competition and antagonism.[33]

3. *Paul's Apologia*

In this context Paul writes an *apologia*[34] for his practice of *not* accepting support from the Corinthians: though an apostle like others who accept support, and despite strong assertions that he is entitled to support, he

30. Hock, *Social Context*, p. 65: '... entering a household... was probably what the Corinthians expected Paul to do. His decision to ply a trade... was thus likely to prompt resistance or criticism'.

31. See 1.10-31 (especially 17, 21-24); 3.1-15 (especially 14-15); 4.14-21 (especially 20); 9.1-18; 12.27-31 (does the sense of reciprocity in ἀντιλήμψεις in 12.28 refer to patronage?); 16.1-12 (especially 10-11).

32. On patronage see A. Wallace-Hadrill (ed.), *Patronage in Ancient Society* (London: Routledge, 1989), especially the essays by R. Saller (ch. 2), A. Wallace-Hadrill (ch. 3) and P. Garnsey and G. Woolf (ch. 7).

33. Theissen, *Social Setting*, p. 41, stresses that the conflicts are 'between different types of missionaries', not personal animosities.

34. See W.L. Willis, 'An Apostolic Apologia? The Form and Function of 1 Cor. 9', *JSNT* 24 (1985), pp. 33-48, who stresses as I do the close links with chs. 8 and 10.

will not put himself under obligation (1 Cor. 9.1-18). There are obvious but seldom-noted questions: by whom in ordinary circumstances should he be supported? by whom are others supported? by the church as a whole? or some group within the church? or wealthy individuals? He does not say, yet when he comes to the matter of the collection in 16.1-4 it is perfectly clear who is intended: 'each of you'.

This *apologia* includes a paragraph defending accommodation in his apostolic practices (9.19-23), where he argues that his accommodatory behaviour is 'for the sake of the gospel' (v. 23).[35] Chapter 9 is predicated on controversies over Paul's right to food and drink (9.4); it is the middle term in a complex section of the letter (8.1 through 11.1 or 11.34) that deals with similar questions: food sacrificed to idols (8.1-13), food and drink in Israel's wilderness experience (10.1-13), idol-food questions (10.14-30), with a summary statement on eating and drinking, repeating his accommodatory outlook (10.31–11.1).[36] If this section properly continues to 11.34, also included are the Lord's Supper, eating and drinking judgment and proper meal practices (11.17-34). But 9.1-26 stands apart from the rest of the section by the intensity of its first person references—mostly in the singular—an important feature of his mock *apologia*.[37]

The essential points in the *apologia* are the following: (1) Paul is an apostle (9.1). 'Others' contend he is not (9.2), some of whom are from outside Corinth and may be related to the Jerusalem opponents ('other apostles and the brothers of the Lord and Cephas'; 9.5). (2) Paul claims here as elsewhere an especially close relationship to the Corinthians (9.2). (3) These 'others' claim to be able *not* to work for a living and to be accompanied by a wife; one at least (Cephas) has probably been to Corinth, perhaps more have (9.5). (4) A series of explanatory examples

35. P. Richardson and P.W. Gooch, 'Accommodation Ethics', *TynBul* 29 (1976), pp. 89-142; P. Richardson, 'Pauline Inconsistency: 1 Corinthians 9.19-23 and Galatians 2.11-14', *NTS* 26 (1980), pp. 347-62.

36. M.M. Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1991), presents a lucid argument for a rhetorical analysis in which all of 1.10–15.58 is the 'body', 5.1–11.1 is the 'second section of proofs', 8.1–11.1 deals with 'idol meats, freedom and group unity' and 9.1-27 is 'exemplary argument: the proper use of freedom for the common good' (summary on pp. 184-85; cf. also pp. 243-50). She refers to ch. 9 as a 'form of mock defense speech' (p. 130).

37. Gooch, *Dangerous Food*, does not give full value to the importance of ch. 9. For a corrective, and an acute analysis of the many difficulties of the standard views, Mitchell, *Rhetoric*, pp. 243-50.

(military service, cultivating grapes, tending sheep or goats, threshing with an ox, ploughing a field) is given, justifying the gospel practice of not working, although the examples do *not* have to do with *not* working (9.6) but with pay and sustenance, in effect rights to food and drink, a related but different issue. These examples cut across the grain of Paul's expressed objective in 9.6, for all involve obvious work—as a soldier, vintner, shepherd, planter etc.

Paul then (5) generalizes these as instances of a rightful claim (ἐξουσία, v. 12a; cf. vv. 4, 5, 6, 18), a claim that he then renounces (v. 12b).[38] (6) Having renounced the right (v. 12b) he then offers the two additional arguments that are the centre of this paper: (a) 'those who work [at] holy things eat from the Temple' (v. 13a; v. 13b is synthetic parallelism); (b) 'the Lord commanded those who proclaim the gospel to live from the gospel' (v. 14). Unlike the earlier examples in vv. 7-11, these are introduced by 'Do you not know...?' and 'In the same way also...', suggesting prior knowledge and a causal connection that will receive attention below. (7) He repeats emphatically ('my ground for boasting') in the first person singular his refusal of this right (v. 15),[39] convolutedly and slightly humourously claiming that his pay is not getting paid (vv. 15-18).[40] This renunciation appears to be related primarily to eating or sustenance, not to church, group or patronal support.[41] (8) In vv. 19-23 he emphasizes his freedom (vv. 1, 18) in a carefully structured quartet of behaviours he says he follows with respect to Jews, those under *torah*, the impious, the weak.

In sum, ch. 9 is both like and unlike chs. 8 and 10: it is substantially different in the forceful way it deals with Paul's practices and challenges to those practices; nevertheless, it fits the context of chs. 8 and 10 in the

38. Mitchell, *Rhetoric*, p. 248: 'The heart of Paul's argument is to be found in 12b, 15a and 18b, all three of which say exactly the same thing... Paul has not exercised his ἐξουσία though he surely has the right to'. But is he renouncing church support? group support? or individual support?

39. Previously in v. 12b he used the first person plural.

40. See Dungan, *Sayings of Jesus*, pp. 23-24.

41. Paul's emphatic 'boasting' (καυχάομαι) is part of honour-shame vocabulary; here it is a sign of 'shamelessness', a criticism Paul has to avoid by boasting not in himself but in the gospel (vv. 16-18). I owe this insight to D. Nighswander. See J.D.M. Derrett, 'Cultural Ignorance: St Paul's Boast of Disinterestedness', in *Jesus's Audience* (New York: Seabury, 1977), pp. 167-74. For a theological perspective, see G. Dautzenberg, 'Der Verzicht des apostolischen Unterhaltsrecht. Eine exegetische Untersuchung zu 1 Kor. 9', *Bib* 50/2 (1969), pp. 212-32.

subject matter—food, drink, eating practices, sacrificial concerns, what is lawful, accommodatory behaviour.[42]

4. *Holy Things: τὰ ἱερά...ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ*

It is usually assumed that Paul has in mind a pagan temple (9.13) or that it does not matter whether it is a pagan or a Jewish temple, since the practices of support are similar. I wish to consider some evidence for and then to understand the social-historical consequences of the view that the temple in Paul's mind is the Jerusalem Temple.[43]

One formal consequence of such a view is that Paul's two arguments in 9.13-14 draw more closely together and are more significant in his argumentation.[44] The allusion to a Jesus-word and to the Jerusalem Temple suggests he has in mind—perhaps even at the forefront of his mind—the situation in Judaea and Jerusalem. In turn this nuances the way these referents are used in his argument; they are not so much an afterthought as a major argument preliminary to his programmatic statement in 9.19-23.[45]

The Judaean references suggest apostolic connections with Jerusalem; the money questions in debate relate to other apostles, including Cephas, and therefore to practices associated with the Jerusalem church. It is tempting then to query Paul's unusual reference to himself and

42. H. Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), p. 151, is typical of many: 'Ch. 9 surprisingly introduces a new theme: the apostleship of Paul'.

43. On Judaism, see below. On Greek practices, see W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980); M. Detienne and J.P. Vernant (eds.), *The Cuisine of Sacrifice among the Greeks* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

44. I previously held that his citation of a Jesus-word is almost casual and insignificant: P. Richardson and P.D. Gooch, 'Logia of Jesus in 1 Corinthians', in *Gospel Perspectives 5* (ed. D. Wenham; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), pp. 39-62.

45. I am conscious of the continuing arguments with regard to Paul's debts to Judaism and Roman Hellenism. A satisfactory reconstruction must draw on both: my understanding of 1 Corinthians was fundamentally altered when I first visited Corinth and saw, e.g., the dining facilities in the Asklepieion and the precinct of Demeter and Kore. There is, however, a tendency to dissociate Paul and the situation in Corinth too radically from Judaism, and this paper, like some others, attempts to keep the duality present, especially in Paul himself. In this, I agree in general with Longenecker, who is vitally interested in the duality.

Barnabas (9.6), and their right (ἐξουσία) to refrain from working.[46] If Paul's primary referent in 9.13 is the Jerusalem Temple, one consequence is that Paul is thinking about the cultic arrangements for priestly support. In structure the two halves of v. 13 are in synonymous parallelism:

οἱ τὰ ἱερὰ[47] ἐργαζόμενοι [τὰ][48] ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ[49] ἐσθίουσιν,
οἱ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ[50] παρεδρεύοντες[51] τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ συμμερίζονται;

All the language, with the possible exception of παρεδρεύω, has its natural locus in the Jerusalem Temple, specifically the altar of burnt offering and the arrangements for priestly participation in the offerings, more generally the Temple cultus and the wider provisions for levitical support. The conceptual background, of course, is the institution of the levitical priesthood in Jerusalem—or wherever its members have

46. If Acts is to be trusted (and I am not sure that it is) Barnabas is a Levite (Acts 4.36) from Cyprus and a landowner. He probably has no continuing role in the Temple cult, yet as a Levite he would have the right to support and ought not to work. Priests and Levites sometimes owned land (see, e.g, Lev. 35.1-8), though there is some indication that this was thought of more properly as collective ownership (Lev. 25.32-34; Josh. 21.1-41; cf. Ezek. 48.8-14 where they are not to sell any of it). They were not to work, though in fact many did; see E.P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief 63 BCE–66 CE* (London: SCM Press, 1992), p. 77.

47. Here 'offerings, sacred things' (LSJ). With ἐργαζόμενοι it probably refers to 'performing rites'.

48. Τά is probably to be omitted with P. 46 and others.

49. Strictly speaking this should refer to the precinct of the Temple, but the larger can stand for the smaller; it certainly refers to eating 'from' (or perhaps 'by'; so Fee, *1 Corinthians, ad loc.*) the altar or Temple.

50. 'Altar of burnt offering' (θυσία is properly a 'burnt offering'; so LSJ) and is used here (cf. e.g., Mt. 5.23-24; 23.18-20; *1 Clem.* 32.2; *Barn.* 7.9), though it can also refer to the altar of incense as in the Apocalypse, or be a more general reference. Paul's use is clarified further at 1 Cor. 10.18, 20. See also CD, cols. 6 and 11.

51. παρεδρεύω is not a LXX nor a NT word, but is found in a cultic context in Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.30. It is also found elsewhere (see Fee, *1 Corinthians, ad loc.*). Its basic sense is, however, 'wait, attend upon' (e.g., the sick), 'frequent', 'act as assessor' (e.g., of judges), 'occupy the rear rank' (LSJ, *s.v.*). BAGD lists several cultic instances: note especially Vettius Valens 210.3: ἐν ἱεροῖς τόποις ἢ ναοῖς παρεδρεύειν; W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3, 633.20 (c. 180 BCE): τοῦ ταμίου παρεδρεύοντος ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ θυσίας ποιήσθαι (695.27-28).

settled—and the support the rest of Israel provides.[52]

Some parts of the support-system, such as the Temple tax[53] and whole burnt offerings (both community and individual), did not go towards priestly maintenance. But other offerings were extensive and took several forms: portions of individuals' offerings (sin offerings and shared sacrifices), tithes, first-fruits and firstlings (including money to redeem non-edible firstlings) and heave-offerings. Some of these (e.g., the priests' share of sin-offerings) were to be eaten only in the Temple, others (e.g., shared sacrifices, tithes, first-fruits and heave-offerings) had to be eaten in a state of purity, though they could be eaten at home and could be shared by families also eating in purity. There were penalties for improper consumption of many of these: for example, the death-penalty applied to non-priestly eating of heave-offerings and first-fruits (*m. Bikk.* 2.1).

The problem with these provisions is that Temple offerings provided food but relatively little money. Since they were not to work their own lands to provide food—and in theory at least had little need to do so—priests had to turn to other jobs for financial support. As Sanders emphasizes, these working opportunities tended to focus on their skills as scribes, legal experts, copyists and the like, though many may also have worked at more menial jobs. Some of the rules pertaining to priests' support obviously allow for living at a distance from Jerusalem (see Num. 18.8-32; Deut. 14.22-27; cf. 26.12-15), perhaps even 'in any place' (Num. 18.31, less specifically Deut. 14.27).

That Paul in a general sense has these practices in mind in 9.13 is reinforced by 10.1-13 and especially by the closely similar statement in 10.18 where the referent is not in doubt: 'Consider the people of Israel; are not those who eat the sacrifices partners in the altar?' (Βλέπετε τὸν Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ σάρκα· οὐχ οἱ ἐσθίοντες τὰς θυσίας κοινωνοὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου εἰσίν;).[54] As earlier, he refers to eating, sacrifice, participation and specifically burnt offerings. While it is arguable that he intends an ambiguous point (e.g., beginning at v. 20 he obviously refers

52. Details in Sanders, *Judaism*, pp. 47-189, especially pp. 77-118, 146-89, 429-31; *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah* (London: SCM Press, 1990), pp. 22-48; re the Diaspora, pp. 255-308, especially pp. 283-308.

53. Further, P. Richardson, 'Why Turn the Tables? Jesus' Protest in the Temple Precincts', *SBLSP* 1992 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), pp. 507-23.

54. Paul's argument here is convoluted. On the many issues arising in vv. 19-20 see Gooch, *Dangerous Food*, especially pp. 75-84.

to issues in Corinth), the point of departure is the Jerusalem Temple—Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ σάρκα, as he not very elegantly puts it.[55]

His point in ch. 10, needless to say, is different from that in ch. 9, but then the focus keeps changing through this large section of the letter. There are, however, enough connections in language and concepts to establish the likelihood that Paul keeps Jerusalem in mind. The Corinthians may not hear the letter in the same way; their minds may well have shifted almost immediately to the customs with which they were familiar in Corinth. Such different hearings were among the major reasons for misunderstandings between Paul and the Corinthians.

Paul's mind jumps around on the arguments about eating practices; in 10.1-13 it is clearly fixed on another aspect of Israel's historic sustenance, their experiences in the wilderness after fleeing Egypt (Exodus 13–17), all of which is in the context of firstlings (13.1-16). His point in ch. 10, however, is not so much the Temple-related arrangements as the claim that the food and drink provided to all was 'spiritual' (πνευματικὸν βρῶμα... καί...ἔπιον, 1 Cor. 10.3-4). Despite this and despite the typological (?) association with Christ, most of the wilderness generation was destroyed (v. 5). And the warning is clear: do not become idolators (vv. 6-11, 14, 19-20).

Minor vestiges of 'Israel' reappear elsewhere in 8.1–11.1, weakly in the programmatic statement in 9.19-23[56] and then again in 10.31–11.1. In the latter passage eating and drinking motivate the statement, and the context is the multiple relationships among Greeks, Jews and the church of God. This is a more generalized form of 9.19-23, so that Paul moves from his own practice in that passage to *their* practice (10.31–11.1), concluding 'Be imitators of me as I am of Christ'.

This last injunction could be taken to be ambiguous. Since it is not possible to imitate Christ's behaviour with respect to 'Greeks' or even, for that matter, to 'the church of God', Paul must intend imitation of

55. Note that he does not *ever* use the correlative, Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ πνεῦμα. See P. Richardson, *Israel in the Apostolic Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 122, 126.

56. In a weak way because the focus in this paragraph is on *torah* and Judaism, not on Israel specifically (cf. also 9.8 re *torah*); see Richardson and Gooch, 'Accommodation Ethics'; Richardson, 'Pauline Inconsistency'. Note that a strong Roman or Hellenistic athletic metaphor appears in 9.24-27; see R. Garrison, 'Paul's use of the athlete metaphor in 1 Corinthians 9', *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 22/2 (1993), pp. 209-17, providing Cynic and Stoic backgrounds, and links to the Isthmian games.

Christ's behaviour either in matters of eating and drinking or of 'not seeking [one's] own advantage'. The latter is much the more likely, as Rom. 15.3 confirms; for Paul, seeking the advantage 'of many' is a Christ-like form of behaviour.

With this last point I return to 9.12b-18. Three features tie this passage to 10.31–11.1: eating and drinking (cf. food), not seeking one's own advantage (cf. not putting an obstacle in the way) and the example of Christ (cf. the Lord commanded). The question now is, why does Paul allude to a command of the Lord and attach it to the Temple reference in v. 13 using the strong connective 'In the same way' (οὕτως καί)? In one sense the connection is obvious: just as the priests get their support from their work (οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι) 'those who announce the gospel' (τοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καταγγέλλουσιν) should 'live from the gospel' (ἐκ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ζῆν). Work at the Temple, work at the gospel; food from the one, living from the other.

Paul occasionally describes himself in priestly terms (cf. Phil. 2.17-30; 4.17-18; Rom. 15.15-29). In Romans 15, for example, Paul intends to proclaim the gospel in Spain (Rom. 15.22-24, 28), after visiting Jerusalem 'in a ministry for the saints', so that Macedonian and Achaian Christians can 'be of service to them in material things' (15.25-27). Paul is himself 'a minister of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles in the priestly service of the gospel of God, so that the offering of the Gentiles may be acceptable' (15.16),[57] analogous to Christ's role as a 'servant of the circumcised on behalf of the truth of God in order that...Gentiles might glorify God...' (15.8-9), thereby working out the claim that 'Christ did not please himself...' (15.3). This statement combines the priestly language of 1 Cor. 9.13-14 and the Jew-Gentile language of 10.31–11.1 (and of much of Romans), together with the monetary context of all of 1 Cor. 9.1-18. In sum, Paul is not averse to using cultic language and the image of the temple in connection with his own activities and the nature of the support churches offer.

5. *'The Lord Commanded'*

My focus is 1 Cor. 9.13-14. Undoubtedly the Lord's command to which Paul refers is Q 10.2-12.[58] There are two relevant questions: why does

57. J.H. Schütz, *Paul and the Anatomy of Apostolic Authority* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 45: the language is hieratic and even sacrificial.

58. Dungan, *Sayings of Jesus*. For the passage in question see W. Braun, 'The

Paul cite a command of the Lord at this stage of his argument; with whom is he disagreeing when he says he will not follow it?[59]

(1) I must leave to one side what form of the Jesus-word lies behind Paul's allusion:[60] it is enough to note that both Luke's and Matthew's use of Q and the *Gospel of Thomas* include traditions about being received and eating what is provided (e.g., Q 10.5, 7a, 7c, 8; *Gos. Thom.* 14). The intention is similar, though in this form may be a later addition,[61] that 'the labourer deserves to be paid' (Q 10.7) or, as Paul says, 'the ones who preach the gospel should live from the gospel' (1 Cor. 9.14). Thus far there is little difficulty, except perhaps for Paul's important restatement of the saying. What occasions more difficulty is that by attaching the 'command of the Lord' to his Temple-analogy of 9.13 (οὕτως καί), Paul has drawn a very close relationship between preachers of the gospel and support of the priesthood through tithes, firstfruits and sacrificial meat. Why? The reason cannot be that the example of Jesus suggests it, for there is no hint of that in the words of Jesus. It must derive from Paul himself: I suggest he has in mind here, as in Romans 15, an analogy between himself and Barnabas and Temple service.

When Paul frames his statements with 'Do you not know... In the same way also...' he links the two statements at least in his own mind,

Historical Jesus and the Mission Speech in Q 10.2-12', *Foundations and Facets Forum* 7.3-4 (1991), pp. 279-316.

59. See P. Richardson, '"I say not the Lord": Personal Opinion, Apostolic Authority and the Development of Early Christian Halakah', *TynBul* 31 (1980), pp. 65-86; Richardson and Gooch, 'Logia of Jesus'; P. Richardson, 'Gospel Traditions in the Church in Corinth (with apologies to B.H. Streeter)', in G.F. Hawthorne and O. Betz (eds.), *Tradition and Interpretation in the New Testament* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1987), pp. 301-18. Cf. Longenecker, *Paul*, pp. 137-38, though I am sceptical of both his conclusions: 'Nor is it impossible for Paul to have in hand a *Logia*'; cf. n. 54. 1 Cor. 7.10 and 9.14 seem 'to imply that even the Corinthians were quite knowledgeable regarding the content of Christ's teaching'.

60. For a plausible reconstruction of the very earliest stages, see Braun, 'The Historical Jesus'; for its place in Q, see Kloppenborg, *Formation*; for the overlap between Q and *Gos. Thom.* see H. Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development* (Philadelphia: Trinity University Press, 1990), pp. 87-89.

61. Braun, 'The Historical Jesus', identifies only the peace-sayings and v. 9 as authentically from the historical Jesus. R.W. Funk, Roy W. Hoover, and the Jesus Seminar, *The Five Gospels* (New York: Macmillan, 1993), pp. 317-20, by contrast argue for vv. 7a and 8 as authentic.

and he tries to persuade the Corinthians of the linkage.[62] Support of those proclaiming the gospel is like support of those serving the Temple. The right to eat and drink, even in a Diaspora setting, is like Levites' right to support wherever they might live; he and Barnabas ('we' of 9.11-12) have this same right. More important, the conditions of such support are also somewhat similar.

Gooch articulates a cogent and persuasive claim, that Paul

> does not refer to his practice concerning idol-food in 1 Corinthians 9 because he avoided food that had even the most tenuous connection with idolatrous rite... Paul was not troubled by abandoning circumcision ... or... *kashrut*, but he would not abandon the covenantal demand set out in the Torah for exclusive allegiance to the one Lord... Paul's objection to the Corinthian Christians' view of idol-food stems not from his concern over the consciousness of the weak but from his own consciousness, and his own knowledge, which in turn were conditioned by his Judaism.[63]

(2) When Paul says he will not claim this right ('I' in 9.15; cf. 'we' in 9.12b) he appears to have in mind some other opinion. Whose? And why? In part the Corinthians' views are in his mind—many of whom are persuaded by the contrary argument—and in part those of other Christian teachers—most likely some with allegiances to Jerusalem, perhaps including Cephas/Peter. Why is much more difficult and requires further comments on the situation, to which I now turn.

6. *Differing Views of Support in Corinth*

The results of my analysis confirm Gooch's hypothesis in some respects and supplement one aspect of his study, his undervaluing (with most studies of 1 Corinthians) of the importance of ch. 9 as an integral part of chs. 8 through 10 or 11. Here I shall attempt to redress the balance.

(1) Paul arrives in Corinth following his experiences at Philippi (patronal support?) and at Thessalonica (self-support, with gifts from Philippi).[64] In Corinth he adopts an ambiguous attitude at best,

62. On οὐκ οἴδατε see Hurd, *Origin*, pp. 85-87: usually oral information, except at 9.13, 24. But perhaps even 9.13 is an example of oral instruction by Paul or others. See pp. 109-11.

63. Gooch, *Dangerous Food*, pp. 95-97; contrast Hurd, *Origin*, pp. 115-49, esp. 126-31.

64. At 1 Thess. 2.9-12 and 2 Thess. 3.7-12 Paul underscores that his working for a living was meant not to burden any of them. In the latter passage particularly he provides some argumentation: he has the right to support but he wishes to give an

dissembling at worst. He works with his hands (1 Cor. 4.12), presumably from the beginning of his residence in Corinth.[65] Yet we must infer that he also claims the right to be supported by the church (9.12b-18), though he refuses to invoke this right for reasons left unspecified. To complicate matters, he is offered support (otherwise the later stages of the story make no sense; 2 Cor. 12.13-18), yet whatever form it takes he feels unable to accept it.[66] I suggest that the proposed support is 'tainted' in his view, and that one part of the argument in his now-lost first letter refers to those unacceptable forms of support.[67] He argues for a form of purity consistent with notions of purity espoused in the Mosaic codes (the remaining fragment in 2 Cor. 6.14–7.1 as well as 1 Cor. 5.11 stresses ritual purity).[68] He does not argue for the levitical rules themselves, of course, only for the same kind of purity for which they are concerned.[69] If he had come to this conclusion only after first accepting their support, subsequently withdrawing, the offence is even greater; but we cannot know this.

(2) Then two things happen: at some point, after refusing support from Corinth he then accepts support from Macedonia (though this only comes to be known at a later stage; 2 Cor. 11.7-11); secondly, 'others' arrive who are also active in Corinth (e.g., 1 Cor. 1.10-17; 3.4-15; 9.1-6 etc.).

(3) These 'others' accept the proffered Corinthian support. They do not work and they accept food and drink (9.4-5). The crucial element in

example of working in order to be able to eat. His very different approach in 1 Corinthians suggests very different problems in the two places: in Thessalonica, idleness; in Corinth, disagreements over the food itself. See R. Jewett, 'Tenement Church and Communal Meals in the Early Church: The Implications of a Form-Critical Analysis of 2 Thessalonians 3.10', *BR* 38 (1993).

65. Mostly inference; cf. 2 Cor. 6.14–7.1 and 1 Cor. 5.9-13.

66. Sampley, *Pauline Partnership*, points out that Paul never adduces *societas* categories in his dealings with Corinth: 'the conditions requisite to *societas* were absent with the Corinthian Christians' (p. 86).

67. The way ch. 9 is wedged between chs. 8 and 10, together with the particularity of some parts of his argument in ch. 9, lead me part way to this conclusion. The nature of his arguments in 1 Cor. 5.9-13 (note especially 5.11, 'do not even eat with such a one') and 2 Cor. 6.14–7.1 push in the same direction.

68. M. Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983). In general, B.J. Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (Louisville: John Knox, 1981), pp. 122-52.

69. See Segal, *Paul the Convert*, p. 168, though the point he makes is different.

this reconstruction is, however, that they quote a Jesus-word regarding support,[70] to the effect that:

> Whatever house you enter... remain in the same house, eating and drinking whatever they provide, for the worker deserves his wages. Do not go from house to house. And if you enter a city and they welcome you, eat what is set before you. (Lk. 10.5, 7-8)
> ... the worker is worthy of his sustenance. Into whatever city or village you enter, determine who in it is worthy and stay there until you depart. (Mt. 10.10b, 11)
> Whenever people receive you eat whatever they serve you... For what goes into your mouth will not defile you, it is what comes out of your mouth that will defile you. (*Gos. Thom.* 14b)
> Wherever you enter a house, stay there until you leave the place. (Mk 6.10)

This 'word of the Lord' is open to the construction, especially in Luke and Thomas, but weakly even in Matthew and possibly in Mark, that Christian missionaries ought to eat what is offered by the person with whom they stay (Matthew alone is concerned for the host's worthiness), not raising any question about it (as Paul phrases it in 1 Cor. 10.25-30).[71] If the patron—for patronage is the main form of support anticipated in the Q-saying—offers 'defiled' food (see *Gos. Thom.* 14b explicitly, with which cf. Mk 7.15), they are to eat without scruple. This, I suggest, is offensive to Paul, and he holds that it ought to be offensive to others as well. If idol-food is eaten in the context of the Lord's Supper he deems it especially intolerable.

(4) When this difference of opinion arose it may have seemed minor, but it pushes Paul into a corner, for he makes an issue of support and then insists that he is freer in the gospel if he were to accept no support.[72] Against the word of Jesus and, I presume, the strong opinions

70. I propose that the citation of the saying of Jesus originally was by them, and that Paul only refers to it—in a substantially revised form—because he cannot avoid it.

71. I here verge on very difficult territory and must restrict myself to a few short observations: Paul himself seems on occasion to be prepared to eat 'idol food'; Paul's primary interest at 10.27 has to do with unbelievers' invitations; the idea that believers might engage in these practices is much more difficult for him (cf. 10.18-22); especially offensive to him is confusion between the Lord's table and idols (10.16–17, 21).

72. Similarly Musonius Rufus, 11.12-13: 'Do you think it is more fitting for free persons (*eleutheriôteron*) by their own labour to procure for themselves the necessities of life (*anankaia*) or to receive them from others?'

of some Christians whom Paul is offending by his attacks on their menu, Paul first attacks the question of improper eating practices—the 'dangerous food' of chs. 8 and 10—and then defends his own practice of not accepting support—his 'boasting' of ch. 9. This two-pronged understanding helps to explain chs. 8–10 quite nicely, for the problem of idol food—food that Paul rejects—is a part of the form of patronal support that offends Paul.

(5) Paul follows up a line first experimented with in his earlier letter (cf. 2 Cor. 6.14–7.1)—the community is a temple that requires 'perfect holiness'.[73] The same idea undergirds his argument in 9.13 ('work at holy things... eat from the temple') with its notions of purity and, in a more general way, in 1 Cor. 3.16-17 ('you are God's temple...if anyone destroys God's temple...').[74] This latter passage is preceded by a temple-like architectural metaphor (3.10-15), the conclusion to which emphasizes destruction. The temple is the community;[75] like the Temple in Jerusalem it must concern itself with purity, for 'you cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of demons' (10.21).

(6) Why is Barnabas a factor in 9.6? He has not visited Corinth and, if Acts 15.36-41 is near the mark, he and Paul have been separated for some time. One reason suggests itself: Paul and Barnabas both use a Temple-analogy for Christian communities, and therefore stress community purity, one element of which is forbidding idol-food. Perhaps elsewhere there have already been disagreements between 'others' and Barnabas over this issue? Perhaps Barnabas, as a Levite, even dabbles with the idea of levitical-type support?[76]

73. On the general question, W.A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), pp. 97-103.

74. B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), pp. 49-60, notes the connection between 2 Cor. 6.14–7.1 and 1 Cor. 3.16-17, but overlooks both 1 Cor 9.13 and 10.18. Similarly R.J. McKelvey, *The New Temple: the Church in the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969).

75. Mitchell, *Rhetoric*, pp. 99-111: 'My view is that all the οἰκοδομή/οἰκοδομεῖν uses in 1 Corinthians... are part of a coherent response to Corinthian factionalism' (p. 102 n. 23).

76. Though the conditions are totally different, it is not irrelevant that among the many Hebrew and Aramaic inscriptions found at Masada from the period of the Revolt are some that refer to 'the priests' tithe', 'for the hallowed things', 'fit for the purity of hallowed things'. See F. Millar, *The Roman Near East 31 BC–AD 337* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 367.

(7) The collection for Jerusalem becomes involved with this disagreement; it too is a money-matter and it recalls the requirement on Diaspora Jews to support the Jerusalem Temple.[77] While the collection is not a form of support for the Temple, when Paul asks for money for Jerusalem but refuses their support of him personally he seems double-minded. When the Corinthians then learn that Paul accepts Macedonian support—both for himself and Jerusalem—they refuse to give to Jerusalem. Paul, they argue, is inconsistent (in different contexts, 2 Cor. 1.15-22; 10.1-2).

(8) When Paul pens 2 Corinthians 10–13 the situation is nasty.[78] Though idol food is not now the issue, there is a stronger sense of conflict over the problem of support.[79] The vocabulary of 'gospel' is still present (9.13; 10.14, 16; 11.4, 7bis)—the super-apostles preach a different 'gospel' (11.1-6)! By preaching his gospel free of charge (unlike the deceitful 'workers'; 11.12-15) while accepting support from others, Paul fractures relationships with the Corinthians (11.7-11). He tries to re-establish them by arguing that he did not burden them (12.11-13).[80]

7. *Conclusion*

Paul's attitude to support from the Corinthians is complex. The core of my argument is that Paul believes that the community is a metaphorical temple, and that the temple must be characterized by holiness and purity similar to that in the Temple in Jerusalem with its notions of priestly support. Paul's priestly analogies here in 1 and 2 Corinthians—and also in Romans and Philippians—confirm this general approach. Paul and 'others' disagree over the appropriate form of support. The 'others', I suggest, live with patrons and accept whatever kinds of food they and

77. Sanders, *Jewish Law*, pp. 292-97, provides evidence of τὰ ἱερά referring to the half-shekel Temple tax, citing Josephus, *Ant.* 16.163, 166, 169, among other sources. I do not think it does here (nor does he), but there is some ambiguity in Paul's phrase.

78. I am inclined to place 2 Corinthians 10–13 after parts of 1–7; if this is correct then the relationships end badly.

79. Mitchell, *Rhetoric*, p. 303: 'Paul's rhetoric of reconciliation in 1 Corinthians was a failure'.

80. I leave to one side the issues in 2 Corinthians 8 and 9 (which I take to be separate letters, following Betz) since their sole focus is on the completion of the collection.

their families regularly use,[81] even including idol food if that is the patrons' custom, following the implications of the Jesus-word of Q 10.2-12 and *Gos. Thom.* 14b. At least one of these patrons who hosts the community meetings at which the Lord's Supper is observed, perhaps more, is not sufficiently careful (cf. 1 Cor. 10.14-22; 11.17-34).

Paul rejects these practices.[82] He accepts the general principle of support but rephrases it in terms of 'gospel', thereby co-opting the Jesus-word used by the others. In 1 Cor. 9.14 he tries to put himself partly on side by assimilating the Jesus-saying to his own understanding of the Temple. In effect, his οὕτως καί says 'this is what the Lord's command really means', and his οὐκ οἴδατε reminds them that knowledge of the arguments for and purity of the Temple are common knowledge.[83]

He wants his refusal of the right to support to appear superior to the behaviour of 'others', by claiming the gospel is free of charge. All he is doing is not making full use of his rights in the gospel (9.18); at the beginning of this train of thought (v. 12b) he also argues that he thereby avoids putting an obstacle (ἐγκοπή) in the way of the gospel. Yet none of his arguments tell us why accepting support is an obstacle. His action makes good sense on the hypothesis developed above; those who accept support follow the implications of the logion of Jesus that they can eat what is put before them, thus putting obstacles in the way of some. By contrast Paul, stands for moral purity—'perfect holiness'—and so refuses a form of patronal support that may lead some astray or hinder his own freedom to preach without obligation.[84]

There is also a difference in attitudes to the locus of support. 'Others' (and perhaps Paul himself at an earlier stage) accept support from individual patrons, but for Paul the community is all important—it is the temple. Support ought to come, he now believes, from the whole church

81. On related questions, especially 10.25-27, see the discussion in Gooch, *Dangerous Food*, pp. 85-92.

82. Cf. Theissen, *Social Setting*, p. 44: 'By means of this introduction [sc., οὕτως καὶ ὁ κύριος διέταξεν] Paul takes the original meaning of the saying and stands it on its head'.

83. I do not presuppose that all members of the church in Corinth are Jews or proselytes, only that some are. Nor do I require anything more than common knowledge of the arrangements for worship in Jerusalem such as might be available to many.

84. Is his reticence on these matters partly a result of the fact (1 Cor. 1.10-17) that he has converted some of the persons posing the difficulties, e.g., Gaius (Rom. 16.23)?

or not at all. In the current circumstances he will not accept support from any.[85] This ties in nicely with 9.19-23 with its primary concerns for all, balanced by specific concerns for Jews, those under the law, those outside the law, and the weak. A similar balance is evident in 10.31–11.1 where he is anxious for the many and wishes to give offence to none.

What is so startling in 1 Corinthians is that the allusions to 'gospel' are almost all packed into this one brief section of the letter.[86] There is a direct connection between support and gospel. This social-historical reconstruction may shed some light on why this is so *in Corinth* but not elsewhere. Different proclaimers of the gospel have radically different attitudes to support and different bases for arguing for financial help. Paul has not previously encountered this particular conflict. He believes some of the 'others' are dangerously wrong in eating anything in their patrons' kitchens. To do so endangers the 'weak', the community, God's temple and the gospel, even though those adopting these practices appeal to a word of Jesus. For Paul, food and drink are matters of the gospel because 'those who are employed in the Temple service get their food from the Temple and...the altar', and because 'God's Temple is holy, and you are that Temple';[87] sometimes, however, it is essential to refuse proffered food and drink in order to preserve the gospel.

85. At Rom. 16.2 (re Phoebe) and 16.23 (re Gaius) Paul acknowledges that he too has had patrons. I take this to be a case, like some other cases in Paul (especially with respect to financial questions), of saying one thing to one church and another thing to others. Thus Paul admits to practices in Romans 16 (to what setting it is addressed matters little here) different from those that he practises in Corinth, from which he is writing Romans!

86. Elsewhere only at 15.1-2; 4.15 and 1.17. The noun is used at 9.12, 14, 18, 23; the verb at 9.16 *bis*, 18.

87. The ambiguity in using the Temple both literally and metaphorically is not unique to Paul. For example, in post-destruction Judaism almsgiving became a substitute for the sacrifices of the Temple destroyed in 70 CE, so that redemption could continue to be offered. Though the point is different, the hermeneutical approach is similar. See Garrison, *Redemptive Almsgiving*, pp. 56-59.

'ANOTHER GOSPEL WHICH YOU DID NOT EMBRACE': 2 CORINTHIANS 11.4 AND THE THEOLOGY OF 1 AND 2 CORINTHIANS

Gordon D. Fee

It is fitting that a *Festschrift* in honour of my friend and sometime colleague,[1] Richard Longenecker, should focus on his lifelong allegiance, which is also that of the apostle Paul, what Paul variously calls 'the gospel of God'[2] (= from God), 'the gospel of Christ'[3] (= about Christ), or 'my gospel'[4] (= which I preach). Indeed, it does not take much reading of Paul's letters to recognize that the gospel is the singular passion of his life. That passion, I have suggested elsewhere,[5] holds the key to coherence in Pauline theology, despite the many contingencies that find expression in his letters. And that passion in particular is the glue that holds 1 and 2 Corinthians together. All other matters that emerge as central to these letters—concern over distinctively Christian

1. I have the distinct pleasure of working with Dick on the Committee for Biblical Translation (the NIV revision committee).

2. Six times in all (1 Thess. 2.2, 8, 9; 2 Cor. 11.7; Rom. 1.1; 15.16) (Note: Scripture citations in this paper will appear in their perceived chronological order; I include the disputed letters in these references, because to do otherwise is to pre-judge what, for me at least, is still open for discussion).

3. Eleven times (1 Thess. 3.2; 2 Thess. 1.8; 1 Cor. 9.12; 2 Cor. 2.12; [4.4, where I understand 'Christ' to be God's 'glory']; 9.13; 10.14; Gal. 1.7; Rom 1.9; 15.19; Phil. 1.27).

4. Five times (1 Thess. 1.5 ['our']; 2 Thess. 2.24 ['our']; 2 Cor. 4.3 ['our']; Rom. 2.16; 16.25). Cf. 'the gospel which I preach(ed)' (1 Cor. 15.1; 2 Cor. 11.7; Gal. 1.11; 2.2; cf. Eph. 3.6 ['the gospel of which I am a servant'] and 1 Cor 4.15 ['through the gospel I gave you birth'].

5. See 'Toward a Theology of 1 Corinthians', in *Pauline Theology.* II. *1 and 2 Corinthians* (ed. D.M. Hay; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), pp. 37-58; cf. *God's Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), pp. 11-13.

behaviour, the reality and character of Paul's apostleship, the collection—find their significance in the gospel, or at least I will so argue in this paper.

In keeping with the invitation by the editors, my essay focuses on 'the theological aspects of "gospel" in the Corinthian correspondence'.[6] To get at that 'theology', I propose: (1) to provide a preliminary sketch of Pauline usage to demonstrate that the gospel has consistent and definable—theological—content; (2) to suggest that 2 Cor. 11.4 holds the key to the basic issues raised in the second (canonical) letter; (3) to overview several key passages in the two letters as a way of demonstrating both the validity of my understanding of 2 Cor. 11.4 and the basic coherence of the theology of the gospel in both letters; and (4) to suggest that this coherent content offers the key to understanding the contingent matters that find focus in 2 Corinthians.

1. *Gospel in Paul*

That the gospel lies at the heart of things for Paul needs no demonstration. That his gospel has definable (and consistent) content is illustrated by at least three factors:

1. In the most polemical letter in the corpus (Galatians), Paul on two occasions (2.5 and 2.14), in the context of controversy, refers to 'the gospel I preach' (2.2) in terms of 'the *truth* of the gospel'. As the argument in context attests, this language does not mean 'my preaching has integrity'—although it surely includes such—but that 'the *content* of the gospel I preach contains the truth from God himself'. In light of the argument of Galatians 3–6, it is unthinkable that Paul is not contending for a certain *understanding* of the gospel—theology, if you will—in using this language.

2. On two occasions, dictated in each case by the situation addressed, Paul offers minimal *content* to 'the gospel I preached'. First, in 1 Cor. 15.3-5, in an attempt to demonstrate the folly of the Corinthians' denial of a future bodily resurrection, he reminds them of the content of his gospel: that it included the *death* of Christ *for our sins* and his

6. One should raise a proper caution at the outset that there is something inherently wrong in 'theologizing' on Paul's gospel—even though he often does it himself in opposition to distortions of it. But for Paul the 'gospel' had first of all to do with evangelism, with preaching Christ so that others believed on him, thus receiving the Spirit, and thereby becoming members of the newly constituted people of God.

subsequent bodily resurrection. This is a minimal statement, to be sure, made so by the context, but it coheres with what we find everywhere else.

Secondly, in Rom. 1.16-17, at the outset of an extended 'argument' to congregations he does not know personally, he offers another minimal definition of his gospel: It has to do with God's power effecting *salvation*, offering righteousness, for all who trust in Christ Jesus. He surely intends the ensuing argument—to 15.13—to flesh out this minimal definition. Whatever else, therefore, Paul's gospel is all about *salvation*, salvation in Christ.

3. When we add to these the considerable number of semi-creedal soteriological statements that surface throughout the corpus,[7] we can affirm further both that Paul's gospel had clearly defined content and that that content was consistent at its core. Especially significant here are (a) that no one of them is identical to the others,[8] (b) that most of them find expression not usually for their own (theological) sake, but to support another concern, and (c) that there is almost always an experiential dimension to what is affirmed theologically (the *experience* of salvation obviously transcends mere theologizing about it). Yet for all their variety, they express a consistent theological point of view, suggesting how deeply woven into Paul's consciousness is the basic *content* of his gospel.

There are several matters involved in Pauline soteriology, including, for example, (a) his 'already/not yet' eschatological framework, (b) that God's salvation has 'a people for God's name' as its goal, and (c) that God, through Christ and the Spirit, has established a new covenant with

7. See esp. 1 Thess. 1.9-10; 5.9-10; 2 Thess. 2.13-14; 1 Cor. 6.11; 2 Cor. 1.21-22; 13.13; Gal. 4.4-7; Rom. 5.1-5; 8.3-4; 8.15-17; Eph. 1.13-14; 4.4-6; Titus 3.5-7. But see also many other such texts, soteriological or otherwise: 1 Cor. 1.4-7; 2.4-5; 6.19-20; 12.4-6; 2 Cor. 3.16-18; Gal. 3.1-5; Rom. 8.9-11; 15.16; 15.18-19; 15.30; Col. 3.16; Eph. 1.3; 1.17-20; 2.17-18; 2.19-22; 3.16-19; 5.18-19; Phil. 1.19-20; 3.3.

8. This is a feature that is often overlooked, but which is full of significance. That no two of them is alike and that they are consistent at their theological heart suggests that those who argue for 'pre-formed' traditions as the 'pool' from which Paul is drawing should perhaps rethink the ramifications of these arguments. One can scarcely doubt that such creedal affirmations may well have abounded in the early church; but their very variety in Paul makes more sense if Paul, however he may have been drawing on a common stock of traditional understanding, is himself finally responsible for the most of these in their present form.

his people in which they 'fulfil Torah' by walking in the Spirit. For Paul each of these is essential to his understanding of 'salvation in Christ'; and each can be shown to pervade these two letters. But my concern in this essay is to focus on Paul's understanding of salvation per se—as wrought by God: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Here is what holds his gospel together in all of its particulars.

Paul's gospel is 'God's gospel', first of all because Paul's theological roots are firmly secured in the OT; for him, therefore, the one God is ever and always the One 'from whom are all things and we for him' (1 Cor. 8.6). God is thus the *initiator* of 'salvation in Christ' and is almost always in Paul's sentences the subject of the 'saving verbs'. The *content* of 'God's gospel' is Christ, crucified and risen; hence Paul's gospel is also 'the gospel of Christ', the gospel that has Christ's saving death and life-giving resurrection at its heart. God put forth Christ as a 'propitiation' and thus 'justified the ungodly' (Rom. 3.25; 4.5). But since the event of Christ is primarily a historical reality which effected an objective, positional reality for people before the living God, enter the Spirit, whom 'God [also] sent forth' so that those who become his children through Christ's redemption may realize that redemption in their personal and corporate lives. Without the Spirit, there is no salvation in Christ, anymore than there would be without the work of Christ, precisely because it is through the Spirit that Christ's saving work becomes *experienced reality*.[9]

All of this is spelled out in laconic detail in Gal. 4.4-6, to isolate just one of the many soteriological texts noted above. At the propitious moment God first 'sent forth his Son' into one distinct expression of our common human life (first-century Judaism; hence 'born of woman,

9. We should note, by way of reminder as to Paul's central focus on Christ, that every soteriological statement in Paul includes a mention of Christ. In some rare instances, because of emphasis in context, he can mention Christ alone (e.g., 1 Cor. 15.3-5). Sometimes he refers to salvation in terms of God and Christ, without mentioning the Spirit (e.g., 1 Thess. 1.9-10; 5.9-10; 2 Cor. 5.21). But most often, especially when the focus is on the believers' *experience* of salvation, the passage is inherently or explicitly Trinitarian. What Paul cannot bring himself to do is to speak of the work of the Spirit without also mentioning the work of Christ. Thus, even in passages like Rom. 8.1-4 or 9–11, or 2 Cor. 1.21-22 and 3.1–4.6 discussed below, where the focus of the argument is on the work of the Spirit, Paul cannot describe this role without also bringing the work of Christ into the argument. The Spirit is obviously not peripheral for Paul, but neither is he the center. The Spirit takes his place near the center next to Christ, but never in the center itself.

born under the law'), whose purpose was to 'redeem' by affording 'adoption as "sons"'.[10] But that historical reality becomes experienced reality because God also 'sent forth the Spirit of his Son into *our*[11] hearts crying out *Abba*', the language of *the* Son, thus offering certain evidence that we are also God's 'sons', destined for divine inheritance (v. 7).

The emphases may change and the language alter from letter to letter; but the theology is ever the same: that God has executed a new covenant with his people, effected historically through the death and resurrection of Christ, and realized in the life of his people by the reception of the Spirit. We now turn to a demonstration of this in 1 and 2 Corinthians.

2. *1 and 2 Corinthians*

One of the ongoing puzzles of Pauline studies is the relationship of Paul's two canonical letters to the church in Corinth. The problem, of course, is that when turning to 2 Corinthians from 1 Corinthians, one has the sense of entering a new world. Except for the collection,[12] none of the issues raised in the earlier letter visibly surfaces here. But this sense of newness turns out to be a surface reading of the two letters. What holds them together are not the specific issues addressed in each, but an overriding tension over Paul's apostleship, and thus over his authority and that of his gospel.[13]

Part of this problem relates to a factor that scarcely emerges in 1 Corinthians, if at all. The problems between Paul and this church that had surfaced at the writing of 1 Corinthians seem largely to have been at the instigation of a few within the community itself.[14] The letter, therefore, is addressed to the community as a whole, always in the

10. It is very difficult to translate v. 5 without using the language 'sons' here, since the whole passage plays on the fact that God's new children ('sons') are evidenced to be so because the Spirit uses the language of *the* Son (*Abba*) in prayer.

11. The subtle shift from second or third person to first plural is a regular feature of these soteriological moments in Paul. Theology and confession go hand in hand for him.

12. See 2 Corinthians 8–9; cf. 1 Cor. 16.1-11.

13. For a very helpful discussion in this regard, see F. Young and D.F. Ford, *Meaning and Truth in 2 Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), pp. 44-52.

14. Note, e.g., 'each of you says' (1.11), 'some [of you] are puffed up as though I were not coming to you' (4.18), 'how can some among you say' (15.12).

second person plural,[15] and with scarcely a hint that there are outsiders who might make up part of the problem.[16]

But in both letters that form our 2 Corinthians[17] (chs. 1–9, 10–13) all of this has changed. Outsiders first surface in 2.14–4.6, where Paul refers to some 'peddlers of the word' (2.17) who 'need letters of commendation' (3.1), in contrast to whom Paul 'does not use deception or distort the word of God' (4.2). The primary urgency of this contrast is found in 3.3-11 and 16-18: Paul's ministry and its effectiveness in Corinth is of the Spirit, theirs is of 'letter' (= Torah observance).[18] This conflict emerges full blown in chs. 10–13, where Paul accuses these outsiders of preaching 'another Jesus' and the Corinthians of receiving 'another Spirit' and 'accepting another gospel' (11.4). The purveyors of this 'different gospel' are 'Satan's servants, masquerading as servants of righteousness' (v. 14; cf. 3.9; 5.21).

But this passage is beset with difficulties, related in part to three other—not easily reconciled—phenomena in this letter: (1) that the opponents are Jewish Christians,[19] who apparently are pressing for some form of 'Jewishness', in the form of Torah observance, as part of their understanding of the gospel;[20] (2) that there are nonetheless no direct

15. Except for a few instances where he reverts to the second person singular, so as to make his point even more telling.

16. The closest thing to it is found in 9.12, 'if others share in your material benefits, should not we do so the more?' In the context of 1 Corinthians, especially since there is no other hint of outsiders being currently present among them, the 'others' in this text most likely refers to Apollos and Cephas, when they were among them (cf. 9.4-6). Cf. the discussion in G.D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), pp. 7-8, 409-10.

17. Although I am among the many who think this way about our canonical 2 Corinthians, I am also of a mind that the two letters were written in close proximity to each other, and that the second carries on the conversation found in the first in a more vigourous way. Hence the two letters easily form one in overall design, even if not in actual time of writing. Thus 2 Corinthians will be treated as a unit in this study.

18. See my full discussion of this passage in *Presence*, pp. 286-311; see also, on this meaning of 'letter', S. Westerholm, '"Letter" and "Spirit": The Foundation of Pauline Ethics', *NTS* 30 (1984), pp. 229-48.

19. This is made certain by the rhetoric of 11.22-23a ('Are they Hebrews? So am I. Are they Israelites? So am I. Are they descendants of Abraham? So am I'). That they are Jewish *Christians*—despite Paul's rhetoric—is attested by the last question ('Are they servants of Christ? I am a better one').

20. This is verified both by the argument of 3.1-18 (where the key contrast is

attacks against the *content* of their teaching;[21] (3) that the clear majority of the content of 2 Corinthians has to do with Paul's understanding of *apostleship* over against theirs, where the contrast is between triumphalism, including revelatory experiences,[22] and Paul's 'weaknesses', through which 'Christ's power' is revealed (12.9-10).[23]

How then, in light of all this, are we to understand 11.4, which is generally agreed to be a key sentence? In a clear attempt to shame the Corinthians into seeing things his way, Paul expostulates: 'For indeed if the one who comes preaches another Jesus whom we did not preach, or you receive a different Spirit whom you did not receive, or a different gospel which you did not embrace, you put up with it well enough'. Three matters are debated: (a) how we are to interpret the three phrases of this passage in relationship to each other, and thus (b) whether the emphasis falls on the first, middle or final item;[24] and (c) what, therefore, Paul intends by 'another Jesus'.[25]

between the 'new covenant of Spirit' and the former covenant of 'letter' only, which failed to lead to righteousness, and thus dealt in death not life) and 11.14 (that the insurgents' aim to be 'servants of righteousness', even though from Paul's perspective this is mere 'masquerade'). To describe what they were presenting as an expression of 'Jewishness' is not intended to be pejorative, but simply to find a word that covers this side of the difficulty, a difficulty exacerbated by the fact that the word νόμος does not appear in this letter—although the contrast between the old and new covenants does.

21. Although several theological moments in this letter are best understood as over against the opponents, one cannot be sure by such 'mirror reading' whether, or how much of, what Paul says is in direct theological response to them

22. This is made certain by the combination of 5.12 ('they boast in externals'; cf. 10.7) and 12.1-10, where with biting irony he affirms that he has indeed had 'visions and revelations', while at the same time making clear that such experiences have no validity as authenticating apostolic ministry.

23. The emphasis throughout 2 Corinthians obviously lies here, both in the *apologia* and polemics of this letter. In light of the corresponding argumentation in 1 Cor. 1.18–4.21, this view of apostleship must be understood in terms of the 'weakness' of 'Christ crucified'; nonetheless, Paul makes very little of that in this letter until the end (13.3-4).

24. Most scholars (see next n.) take it to fall on 'another Jesus'; E. Käsemann on the middle item (see 'Die Legitimität des Apostels: Eine Untersuchung zu 2 Korinther 10–13', *ZNW* 41 [1942], pp. 33-71); I will argue for the final item.

25. The bibliography here is large. See esp. the discussion in J.L. Sumney, *Identifying Paul's Opponents: The Question of Method in 2 Corinthians* (JSNTSup 40; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), pp. 15-67, who discusses the proponents of the various views under the rubrics of Judaizers (F.C. Baur, D. Oostendorp,

Regarding the related matters: several converging pieces of evidence from the letter point to a simple solution regarding their simultaneous 'Jewishness' and triumphalism. First, the primary 'content' of their false gospel most likely has to do not with christology per se but, as elsewhere, with soteriology; but, secondly, where the insurgents have found common cause with the Corinthians is by striking the chord of triumphalism, not in terms of christology but of authentication of ministry. After all, the Corinthians themselves had already tried to run an end run around the cross and its implications for discipleship; they scarcely needed outsiders to teach them to do this. What the outsiders find in the triumphalistic view of ministry already present in Corinth is a beachhead from which to pursue their understanding of Christ that includes Gentile adherence to Torah as an integral component.

Moreover, despite the rhetoric of 11.21–12.18, at issue for Paul is not his apostleship alone, and especially it is not a matter of rival claimants to Corinthian affections. At issue, as always, is the gospel, and the gospel has to do with '*salvation* in Christ', which for Paul presupposes christology (that 'God sent forth his Son') but focuses primarily on soteriology.[26] This seems to be verified by the argument of 11.1-15,

C.K. Barrett, J. Gunther, G. Lüdemann), Gnostics (W. Schmithals), Divine men (D. Georgi, G. Friedrich), and Pneumatics (E. Käsemann). More recently, see J. Murphy-O'Connor, 'Another Jesus (2 Cor 11.4)', *RB* 97 (1990), pp. 238-51, who understands the opponents to have created 'another Jesus' in order to get around the crucified Jesus preached by Paul. This would seem to move in the right direction, but still makes too much of one's ability to identify the *content* of the false teaching by Paul's language here. Both Georgi and Murphy-O'Connor rest their case on Paul's use of 'Jesus', as though by using this designation he 'means' something that he might not have meant had he said 'Christ' or 'Christ Jesus'. But this becomes problematic if one considers the alternatives. Had Paul said 'another Christ' some would tie it to 1 Cor. 1.12 and have a heyday with that as well; and any compound form of the name (Jesus Christ, Christ Jesus) would be thoroughly un-Pauline with this verb. I would agree that the use of 'Jesus' here reflects the usage in 4.10, and thus probably emphasizes the earthly Jesus who died. But it is difficult to sustain that this means anything different from his use of 'preaching Christ' in 1 Cor. 15.12 or Phil. 1.15-18, in which instances he clearly means 'preach the gospel which has Christ's death and resurrection as its primary content'.

26. *Pace* Georgi, Murphy-O'Connor and Schmithals; cf. R.P. Martin (*2 Corinthians*, [WBC: Waco, TX, 1986], p. 336), 'the issue is basically a christological one'. That is bold indeed, considering that christology is neither pursued in this argument, nor does it emerge as such throughout 2 Corinthians. There is a sense, of course, in which one cannot have soteriology without christology. Who

including v. 4. Paul's jealousy is God's own (v. 2)—to present the Corinthians as a 'pure virgin' to her betrothed (= the church to Christ at his Parousia). But as Eve was deceived, so too they are being led astray; their virginity is being sullied. Our verse appears at this point, not to point to the content of the false teaching but to specify what has happened to the Corinthians in following these outsiders. In coming onto Paul's turf and currying the favour of the Corinthians (10.7-8), the insurgents are ultimately leading them astray from the gospel of Christ to something that from his perspective is no gospel at all.[27] Several matters support this interpretation.

1. The problem with starting one's interpretation with 'another Jesus' is that there is no hint either in this text or in the ensuing argument that a false christology is at issue. What must be stressed is that Paul does not follow up on this phrase, either here or later. Indeed, the only hint in what follows as to content appears in the accusation that the insurgents masquerade as 'servants of righteousness' (v. 15); and this is how Paul has already described the essential character of his own ministry of the new covenant (3.5-11), as 'life-giving' through the work of the Spirit, a ministry that has 'brought righteousness' (3.9 NIV) precisely because 'God made [Christ]...to be sin for us, so that in him we might become the righteousness of God' (5.21).

2. The key to this passage, therefore, lies not in interpreting the second and third item in light of the first,[28] but the other way about, in seeing the third as the key to the whole, and the second as the clear evidence that all three together have to do with the *fact* of their capitulation to a false gospel, not with its *content*. Two points need emphasis.

First, the awkwardness of the syntax indicates that the primary concern in the text is less on what the insurgents are teaching and more on *what is now happening to the Corinthians* as a result of this teaching, and this in light of their first *experience* of the gospel, which plays the lie to their present fascination with this false gospel. Flowing directly out of vv. 2-3, the sentence begins with a contrast between the opponents'

Christ is, for Paul, makes his salvation work at all. But in terms of focus and argument, this element is missing from both of these letters.

27. Cf. the language of Gal. 1.6-9, where the 'agitators' there are also accused of preaching a 'different gospel'. For a similar assessment as to what can be gleaned about the content of this opponents' preaching, see V. Furnish, *II Corinthians* (AB 32A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984), p. 500.

28. Contra Murphy-O'Connor, 'Another Jesus', p. 240.

preaching and his own. But since the concern is over what is happening to the Corinthians, Paul shifts from 'if *the one who comes* preaches', to 'or *you receive* another Spirit whom you did not receive; or you embrace another gospel which you did not embrace'. Not only so, but the three contrasting verbs ('we preached', 'you received', 'you accepted') are all aorists and clearly point to their *experience of conversion.*[29] Just as in 1 Cor. 2.1-5, through what 'we preached' ('Christ crucified') the Corinthians 'received the Spirit', which for Paul equals their having 'accepted' his gospel. Thus, what is going on among them now is in obvious contrast to their first encounter with Christ and the Spirit through Paul's preaching of the gospel.

Secondly, all kinds of evidence demonstrates that what we encounter in this passage are the essential matters for Paul with regard to the gospel—Christ and the Spirit.[30] For Paul, authentic Christian life is the combined result of Jesus, who is 'preached', and the Spirit, who is 'received'. This combination alone makes up the genuine embracing of the gospel. Thus, as elsewhere in Paul, preaching 'Jesus' refers to the proclamation of the saving event itself, and all that Christ provided for us through his death.[31] The 'Spirit' refers to the actual appropriation, the actualization of the saving event. This reality is what best explains the apparently unusual order, in which the gospel is mentioned last—so as to clarify the first two items as the essential matters with regard to the gospel.

Therefore, it is not that the opponents were actually preaching a different Jesus as such; rather, by their introducing the old covenant (as

29. A point also made by Murphy-O'Connor ('Another Jesus', p. 239), although he moves in a slightly different direction with it.

30. Cf. R.P.C. Hanson, *2 Corinthians* (TBC; London: SCM Press, 1967), p. 79: 'Notice St Paul's three-word summary of Christianity—Jesus, Spirit, Gospel'.

31. D. Georgi (*The Opponents of Paul in Second Corinthians* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986], pp. 271-77) and Murphy-O'Connor ('Another Jesus', pp. 241-48) argues that Paul uses 'Jesus' only when referring to his earthly life. But this distinction simply does not work out in Paul, except by otherwise strained exegesis (as e.g., in 1 Cor. 5.4-5). *Pace* Murphy-O'Connor, the 'death of Jesus' and 'the life of Jesus' in 2 Cor. 4.10 refer to Christ's saving death and resurrection respectively (so Furnish, Barrett, Martin, and most commentaries). It is difficult to make that mean anything different from 'Christ died for us', except that the former may well focus on his death as a human. But its atoning significance is clearly in view in this passage even so.

we may assume from 3.1-18), the net result is 'another Jesus' from the one Paul preached, in this case a preaching of Jesus that included Torah observance, which is tantamount to the Corinthians' 'receiving *another* Spirit', not because there is in fact another one, but precisely because the Spirit whom they received through Paul's preaching of Christ had freed them from any possible commitments to the now obsolete older covenant (3.17-18).

3. Thus the significance of the middle member. The mention of the Spirit as 'received' (= experienced) by the Corinthians is what makes the use of the term 'another Jesus' as a component of the false teaching a dubious exercise at best. To be sure, some have suggested otherwise, that πνεῦμα here refers to something attitudinal or to some aspect of Christian lifestyle;[32] but that will hardly do in this argument. Against it is (a) that the mention of Spirit comes between Jesus and gospel; in such a context it is difficult to imagine that it will bear some meaning unrelated to the other two; and (b) that the verb 'received', which Paul uses elsewhere for the reception of the Holy Spirit,[33] hardly goes well with any other understanding of the word πνεῦμα. How does one 'receive' some aspect of Christian lifestyle or attitude, one wonders? Paul, therefore, does not think of them as actually receiving another 'spirit',[34] that is, a demonic spirit, or the 'spirit of the world', or a 'bad attitude'. After all, just as there is not actually another Jesus than the one Lord Jesus Christ, so there is only one Spirit, the Holy Spirit. Moreover, in the context of this letter and of this church, the Spirit is absolutely crucial to the argument. Whatever else, the Corinthians were into Spirit. What jars Paul is that Spirit people have now let themselves be turned aside to that

32. See, e.g., the commentaries by Plummer (p. 297), Hughes (p. 378), Carson (pp. 87-88), Martin (p. 336). Both Martin's reason for going this way (otherwise it assumes that 'we would have to suppose that they had a heterodox... Trinitarian teaching') and his attempt to make sense of 'spirit' (as 'the effects of Christian living seen in outward deportment') points out the difficulties with this position—and the basic error in presupposing that content is what is involved.

33. See Rom. 8.15; 1 Cor. 2.12; Gal. 3.2.

34. In this regard cf. the discussion in Fee, *Presence* (pp. 26-28) on 'a spirit of... in Paul, especially in the three texts which are set up by the negative contrasts, 'not a spirit of, but the Spirit', in which he certainly does not intend in the first part to suggest that there is 'another spirit' that people receive (1 Cor. 2.12; Rom. 8.13; 2 Tim. 1.7). Rather, he intends, 'in receiving the Spirit of God, you did not receive this negative characteristic'.

which has nothing at all to do with the Spirit.[35]

We should note, finally, that although Paul makes no point of it, it is significant for our present purposes to note the Trinitarian substructure that Paul here presupposes. We have already noted the role of Christ and the Spirit; that God the Father lies behind all of this is to be found in the language 'the Spirit you received', which in Paul always presupposes God's 'sending the Spirit', plus the fact that in v. 7 he explicitly refers to the gospel he preached as 'God's gospel'.

In light of this understanding of this passage, and it seems to make the best sense of the argument in context, our next task is to show that precisely these concerns also lie at the heart of most of the significant, more purely theological moments, in these two letters. We begin with 1 Corinthians.[36]

a. *1 Corinthians 1.17–2.16*[37]

Most scholars (rightly) recognize this as the key theological passage to the whole of the Corinthian correspondence, arguably to the whole of the Pauline corpus. My aim here is not to examine the passage in detail, but to focus on three particulars: (1) that this is a soteriological, not christological, argument; (2) that its Trinitarian substructure is essential to the argument; and (3) that the focus on Christ, which is first of all soteriological, functions also as paradigm, which is the dimension of the gospel that in particular gives unity to the 'contingent theology' of these two letters.

1. As this central argument reveals, at issue in 1 Corinthians 1–4 is not simply 'division in the name of leaders', but quarreling carried on in the name of *sophia*. In contrast to their new-found 'wisdom', which was both 'heady' and (apparently) πνεῦμα-oriented, Paul and his gospel came in a distant second. Thus, at the outset Paul sets forth three realities from their Christian origins which stand in utter contradiction to their present fascination with *sophia*: the *content* of the message by which they came to faith, the gospel of a 'crucified Messiah' (1.18-25); the *people* who make up the redeemed community in Corinth—the

35. This, of course, is precisely the argument of 3.1-18 and Gal. 3.1-5.

36. In this brief space we cannot look at all of these, but those discussed will be easily recognized as among the more important theological moments in these two letters.

37. For the exegetical judgments supporting the observations made here and in the next passage see Fee, *1 Corinthians*.

Corinthian believers themselves, the 'not many wise, influential, and well-born' (1.26-31); the *preaching* that brought them to faith, namely, Paul's, which was confessedly done in weakness and had nothing to do with rhetoric and 'wisdom' but everything to do with the Spirit's power (2.1-5).

Throughout this argument the focus is on God's saving event—through the Crucified One. Though some would see a 'wisdom christology' at work in 1.24, that is not even remotely so, at least not as christology per se. God's 'wisdom' lies in the utterly contradictory nature of his choice of saving event, which stands over against human wisdom and power in every way. Thus 'Christ *crucified*'—not just Christ in himself—is God's power and God's wisdom. That no one has come forward with a '*dynamis* christology', which after all is the first designation of Christ in v. 24, is sure evidence that neither does Paul here intend a 'wisdom christology'.[38] Moreover, in v. 30 Paul deliberately historicizes *sophia* by placing righteousness (δικαιοσύνη), holiness (ἁγιασμός), and redemption (ἀπολύτρωσις) in apposition to wisdom (σοφία). This is how God put Christ forth as 'wisdom for us', by making him to be our righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.[39] Nothing could more clearly demonstrate that the issue is not christology, but soteriology.

Finally, of course, this is quite the point of the often abused passage in 2.6-16, where Paul turns the tables on the Corinthians by appealing to their experience of the Spirit. Instead of bringing them into some kind of heady *sophia*, the Spirit instead has revealed what merely human wisdom could not know—that God chose to redeem us by means of the cross. This is what the Spirit has plainly revealed, Paul argues, and if they were truly 'Spirit people', as they claim and rightly are, they should have recognized the folly of their present stance and the 'wisdom' of Paul's gospel.

2. The Trinitarian substructure to this argumentation also needs pointing out. First, the passage is thoroughly theocentric, from beginning to end. The message of the cross is God's wisdom and God's power for

38. And in any case, *sophia* is a Corinthian word, which Paul is merely picking up and reapplying so as to destroy their understanding of 'wisdom' altogether.

39. These three words function not to illustrate a kind of *ordo salutis* in Paul but as metaphors, which together exhibit (in some measure) the richness of God's saving work in Christ. Cf. the discussion of 6.11 below.

'us[40] who are being saved'. God chose such 'weakness' and 'foolishness' precisely so that he could circumvent, and thereby overturn, the wisdom of this world. Those who believe are those whom 'God has called', and in doing so he chose the world's nobodies—the Corinthians themselves—as Exhibit A that his salvation is not in keeping with the *sophia* of the present age. And their experience of God's salvation came through the Spirit's power, not through wisdom (σοφία), and word (λόγος), so that their faith might rest finally in God's power—as exhibited through the cross.

Secondly, God's gospel is all about Christ, who through crucifixion obtained eternal redemption for those who believe in him. Thus the passage is as thoroughly christocentric as it is theocentric. A crucified Messiah, God's ultimate oxymoron, is God's wisdom and power. Christ is God's own brand of *sophia*, who became for us God's means of salvation (i.e., righteousness, sanctification, and redemption). Thus the one who now boasts in the Lord (Jer. 9.23) boasts in Christ Jesus.

As 2.4-5 make plain, all of this, thirdly, became an experienced reality for them through the Spirit, God's power at work through Paul's own weaknesses, causing them to believe in Christ and transforming them into God's people in Corinth. Thus, whatever else, the Spirit does not lead to triumphalism; rather the Spirit reveals the wisdom in God's foolishness, so that 'we might know the things graciously given to us (in Christ) by God' (2.12). The Spirit alone marks off God's people from the rest of humankind, so that our 'wisdom' is of a radically different kind from theirs. And this leads to the third matter.

3. It is equally important both to this argument and to the whole of this letter—and 2 Corinthians as well—that the crucifixion is not only God's means of salvation, but the paradigm of all truly Christian life as well. Since the cross is the ultimate expression of God's wisdom in the world, one should not think that it had its time only in the historic event. On the contrary, the cross forever marks the people of God, who live by the gospel that has the cross as its central reality. This finds expression in a variety of ways in the present argument—and throughout.

This is what Paul is already setting them up for in 2.1-5—his coming in weakness and preaching 'Christ crucified' together bear witness to God's 'wisdom'. This is revealed by the Spirit, so that the truly πνευματικοί (= Spirit people) might understand God and his ways—

40. Note again the shift to the first plural as theology approaches confession (cf. n. 11, above).

that the cross is the only paradigm of God's activity in the world. This is further the role of Paul's glorying in his hardships in his apostolic defense in ch. 4. They became believers through the one who is like 'the rubbish of the world, the dregs of all things' (4.13 NRSV); and they are to 'imitate [Paul]', who is sending Timothy precisely so as to remind them of 'my ways *in the Lord*'.

This motif, of course, becomes so thoroughgoing in 2 Corinthians that it serves as the predominant expression of 'contingent theology' in this letter. But one reads 2 Corinthians poorly, and this motif in the letter in particular, who does not do so in light of 1 Cor. 1.17–2.16.

b. *1 Corinthians 6.11*

I include this text as the primary illustration in this letter of the brief soteriological passages noted above. My concern is to point out (1) its Trinitarian substructure, (2) its rich diversity of metaphors (as in 1.30) to describe the saving event, and (3) the predominant role of the *experience* of salvation in such a text.

The Trinitarian presuppositions of Pauline soteriology are most easily seen by a structural display of this passage, which will also help in our further discussion (the 'translation' is my own and is intentionally 'literal'):

And
these things [vv. 9-10] some of you were;
but you were washed
but you were sanctified
but you were made righteous[41]
by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ
and
by the Spirit of our God

God the Father is the assumed subject of the saving verbs, which in this case appear in the 'divine passive'. Because the emphasis lies with their *experience* of salvation, 'you' is the grammatical subject of the clauses; but the conceptual subject is God. Thus: but God washed you, but God sanctified you, but God made you righteous. This passage is not theocentric as others are (see 2 Cor 1.21-22 below), but God, as always, is the presuppositional initiator and protagonist of their salvation.

41. This translation of ἐδικαιώθητε is not so much an attempt to resolve the long-standing debate over this term as to make sure by translation one recognizes the clear recall of the same metaphor (as a noun) in 1.30.

Of greater theological moment in this passage is the dual role played by Christ and the Spirit. As displayed above, the two prepositional phrases are to be understood as together modifying the three clauses, which means that the ἐν in both cases is primarily instrumental.[42] This means further that 'you were washed' is not a metaphor for baptism in this instance;[43] rather, they were 'washed' (from the sins previously mentioned), 'sanctified' (set apart for God's purposes so as no longer to pursue these sins), and 'made righteous' (given rightstanding with God and thus set on the path of righteousness) by the work of Christ,[44] and realized by the Spirit.

Thus, as in 1.30, Paul appropriates a triad of metaphors to express how rich and expansive is God's work on their behalf through Christ. He repeats two of the three metaphors from 1.30, but substitutes 'washing' for 'redemption' in this instance for obviously ad hoc reasons. The result is yet another soteriological moment, whose clear focus in this case is on the Corinthians' *experience* of this multi-faceted and—because of the Spirit—effectual work of God through Christ.

This is what the gospel is all about for Paul—here and everywhere: God himself effecting salvation through Christ and making it an experienced reality through the Spirit.

4. *Theological Issues in 2 Corinthians*

When we turn to 2 Corinthians, we find more of the same. At issue throughout is soteriology. Even Paul's apostleship—especially his apostleship, both its reality and its cruciform quality—are ultimately subservient to the gospel; and the gospel is all about God's saving activity, effected through Christ and appropriated through the Spirit. We briefly note two texts (1.18-22; 13.13), which in effect frame the letter in its present form, plus the crucial theological passage in 3.1–4.6. Together these passages embrace the concerns of this letter; and together, along

42. I say 'primarily' because I am among those who think watertight distinctions between 'instrumental' and 'locative of sphere' can seldom be maintained. While the emphasis is almost always on one or the other, the companion idea usually lurks very close by.

43. That is, Paul is not saying that they had been 'baptized' in the name of Jesus.

44. 'Name' here signifies 'authority', meaning that by the authority of what Christ had done for them on the cross, they have experienced these saving realities as these were brought to bear in their lives by God's own empowering presence, the Holy Spirit.

with the rest of the whole letter, support our understanding of 11.4 as summarizing Paul's gospel, which the insurgents are bidding fair to bring to nothing in Corinth. Christology is not at issue; rather, as always, it is 'salvation in Christ'.

a. *2 Corinthians 1.18-22*

This remarkable passage sets the tone for the entire epistle. At stake is Paul's integrity, first over his recent (second) change of itinerary, but more significantly regarding his apostolic ministry altogether. His change of announced plans to return to Corinth after traveling to Macedonia, returning to Ephesus instead, has apparently fueled the fires of his Corinthian detractors, now supported by some outside opposition. Paul can be no apostle of the truth that is in Christ, since he so obviously says both 'yes' and 'no' out of the same side of his mouth.

Therefore, precisely because his apostleship is at stake, Paul feels compelled not simply to explain himself, but also to establish his integrity—ultimately on theological grounds. Thus the strange and, to us, apparently convoluted nature of the present argument. He begins by giving the reason for the first change of plans (vv. 15-16), insisting that that plan had not in fact been made with levity nor did changing it mean duplicity on his part (v. 17).

With that he launches into a singular theological vindication of his integrity in which he is intent to tie his 'words' (about itineraries, etc.) to his 'word' (his preaching of the gospel), and thus to God's own faithfulness, as that has been revealed in Christ his Son and in the gift of the Spirit. This is bold stuff indeed. Its various pieces tell the theological story:

1. The opening declaration (v. 18a, 'God is faithful') is the boldest of all. Paul's integrity (and apostleship) is predicated first of all on God's trustworthiness.
2. God's faithfulness is what guarantees Paul's 'word' to them (v. 18b). A wordplay is in progress here: in its first sense this guaranteed 'word' is that of vv. 15-17; but that is only first blush. The real 'word' that validates all other 'words' is his preaching of Christ, which is the true 'word' that is 'to them' (v. 18) and was preached 'among them' (v. 19).
3. The clear evidence that Paul's 'word' is trustworthy is to be found in the faithful God's Son, whom Paul (and his companions) preached so effectively in Corinth. The 'for' with

which v. 19 begins is explanatory, or evidential. Thus, 'for the Son of God, Jesus Christ, whom we preached, is himself God's yes', not only to his own promises, but by implication also to Paul's 'word'.

4. Indeed, he will explain further (v. 20a), in apparent anticipation of ch. 3 (and 11?), all the promises God made to Israel have found their divine 'yes' in Christ. There is nothing more to be had. This, it must be pointed out, altogether presupposes soteriology.
5. Not only so, he adds (v. 20b), but in our corporate worship it is 'through Christ' that we (both Paul and the Corinthians) affirm God's trustworthy word, found in Christ and preached by us, by saying the 'Amen' to God, unto his eternal glory.
6. Finally, he concludes (vv. 21-22), the same trustworthy God, whose Son is his 'yes' to his promises, is the one who confirms me; and not only me, but you as well. This present confirmation is the outflow of his having already 'anointed' us, that is, his having 'sealed' us by giving us the Holy Spirit as his down payment on our sure future.

Here is one of the most God-centered, God-focused paragraphs in the Pauline corpus. As such it is a clear reflection of Paul's essential theology, the more telling because it is such an 'off-the-cuff', non-reflective moment. Paul's integrity—and their own existence in Christ that is so integrally tied up with that integrity[45]—ultimately rests in the *character* of God (his trustworthiness, all of whose promises have been realized in Christ) and in the *saving activity* of God, which is but an outflow of his character. Thus, as always in Paul, God's own character stands as both the ground and initiative of his saving activity, which was effected historically by his Son and appropriated in the lives of believers by his Spirit, who is also the present guarantor of the final eschatological glory.

Thus, Paul *theologically* confirms his integrity, and with that his apostleship, in a remarkable soteriological moment, fully Trinitarian in its presuppositions as well as in its composition. Again he appeals to their own experience of God's salvation, as the combined work of Christ and the Spirit, as the sure evidence. This is the beginning of his response to their being seduced by those who offer 'another Jesus' and 'another

45. A point that is often made in the two extant letters to this congregation. See e.g. 1 Cor. 4.14-17; 9.1-2; and in our present letter especially 3.1-3 and 13.1-10.

Spirit', other than the Jesus and Spirit they already know and have experienced through Paul's own proclamation of the gospel.

b. *2 Corinthians 2.14–4.6*

In many ways this passage, Paul's first defence of his apostleship vis-à-vis his opponents, is the theological crux of this letter. As with 1 Cor. 1.17–2.16 the passage is much too long for detailed analysis. What is crucial for us here is: (1) that it has clearly been composed vis-à-vis the 'peddlers' mentioned in 2.17; (2) that even though the focus is on Paul's ministry in contrast to theirs, in terms both of its origins and effectiveness, the crucial moments are theological, not apologetic; and (3) that the passage is ultimately soteriological, not christological, as the central role played by the Spirit in the argument makes plain.[46]

To be sure, there is very little direct reflection on the saving event itself—although it is presupposed at the beginning by the imagery of Paul's being a captive in Christ's 'triumphal procession', a passage which deliberately echoes 1 Cor. 4.9 and thereby pushes back to the crucified Messiah in 1.18-25. It is further presupposed by the various images from the 'triumph' in 2.14-16: he everywhere spreads the fragrance of the knowledge of Christ (v. 14), which the imagery in v. 15 confirms to be soteriological (Paul is the aroma of Christ for salvation/judgment). The same presupposition undergirds the language of 4.1-6, where the unusual language has been set up by the imagery of 3.17-18, but the repeated emphasis on the gospel itself makes clear is not dealing with christology as such, but with soteriology.

What is most significant about this passage is the central role played by the Spirit, especially so in light of the Corinthians' apparently triumphalistic view of Spirit life. In contrast both to their triumphalism and the opponents' appeal (apparently) to Moses, and thereby to a continuation of Torah during the time of the new covenant, Paul's response is twofold: First, the Spirit—whom they 'received' (11.4) through Paul's own preaching (1 Cor. 2:4-5; 2 Cor. 3.3)—has freed them from the 'veil', which in this argument moves from Moses' face in the Exodus passage to the hearts of those who still persist in following

46. It is of some interest to note how (apparently) studiously Georgi avoids this passage in making his case for a *theios anēr* christology on the part of Paul's opponents. The argumentation of this passage, with its focus on the Spirit as the way the Exodus passage is now to be understood, is scarcely the 'stuff' with which to oppose such a christology!

Torah. Instead of having 'veiled' hearts and thus being 'veiled' from God's presence, 'when anyone [now] turns to the Lord the veil has been removed [by the Spirit]' (vv. 16-17), so that by the same Spirit they have been ushered into God's very presence, there both to behold his glory [in the face of his Son, 4.4-6] and to be transformed into his likeness. While the passage is full of significance for Pauline pneumatology, at issue is soteriology. The Spirit means freedom—from the 'veil' of Torah observance and from the 'veil' that keeps people from beholding God's face (now in Christ).

Secondly, and this is the crucial point for Paul, as the Spirit transforms God's new covenant people into Christ's likeness, he does so in the way spelled out in the ensuing argument of 4.7-15. Here, in Paul's own ministry, is spelled out afresh the paradigm of the cross. Life in the Spirit, glorious as it is in terms of its saving effects (beholding God's glory in the face of Christ and being transformed into his likeness is no small thing, after all), is finally evidenced, however, not in triumphalism but in a life that is marked by 'the death of Jesus'.

We note again, finally, (1) the Trinitarian substructure that pervades the whole argument, and (2) the experienced nature of the theological appeal.

c. *2 Corinthians 13.13*

The remarkable grace-benediction that concludes this letter, the only one of its kind in the extant corpus, is in many ways the most significant theological moment of all—and verifies our overall understanding of the gospel in these letters and of 11.4 in particular. Paul concludes all of his letters with a grace-benediction, usually with the simple 'the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you', as in the first part of the present one. But this one has two remarkable features: first, that it is elaborated at all; and secondly, the Trinitarian form in which the elaboration is expressed.

Even though Paul may be reflecting a liturgical formulation already used in his churches, these words most likely have their origin at this point and were expressed in light of what is going on in Corinth and what has been said in this letter—especially so, since nothing like this appears anywhere else in his letters, particularly in letters after this one. *Ad hoc* elaboration alone accounts for the unusual order of Lord (Christ), God and Spirit. Paul apparently began with his ordinary benediction, and then elaborated in the now 'logical' order of God and Spirit. After all, the three expressions are precisely the *Pauline*

understanding of the soteriological functions of the Trinity.[47] Here, then, in capsule is Paul's basic soteriology, expressed explicitly in other passages (e.g., Gal. 4.4-6; Rom. 5.1-11). Here also is our entrée into Paul's theology proper, into his understanding of God himself, which has been so radically affected by the twin realities of the death and resurrection of Christ and the gift of the eschatological Spirit. As Barth put it with extraordinary insight, 'Trinity is the Christian name for God'. Here we begin to penetrate a bit into Paul's understanding of that reality, namely that to be Christian one must finally understand God in a Trinitarian way. Paul's understanding begins with the OT (in part by way of the LXX), which is always presuppositional for him. God's relationship with his people is primarily predicated on his love for them (Deut. 7.7-8); what characterizes that love pre-eminently is his חסד (*hesed*; covenant love), usually translated ἔλεος in the LXX. What Paul has come to see is that God's love which has expressed itself in compassion for his people, especially in his covenant loyalty with them, has found its singularly concrete historical expression in the death and resurrection of Christ. It is equally clear—if not always articulated with clarity—that Paul recognized that in Christ *God himself* had come present 'to reconcile the world unto himself' (5.20).

But that is not all. Through the gift of his Holy Spirit, the Spirit of the living God, God has now come present in the new creation as an abiding, empowering presence—so that what characterizes the Holy Spirit is *koinōnia*, which primarily means 'participation in'.[48] This is

47. In the case of Christ and God at least, these are the most characteristic words in Paul's vocabulary to express the essence of their being and activity; the Spirit is associated with *koinōnia* in Phil. 2.1.

48. There has been some debate as to whether 'of the Spirit' is an objective or subjective genitive. That is, are we in fellowship with the Spirit, or does he create the fellowship of the saints, as it were. Since the two prior clauses reflect something both of God's character and of his activity on behalf of his people in light of that character, it would seem most likely that something similar is in view here. Since the word primarily means 'participation in', the view presented here seems to capture the essence both of the 'direction' of the Spirit's activity and of the meaning of the word itself. This view goes back at least as far as H.A.W. Meyer, *Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Epistles to the Corinthians* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1879), II, p. 514). It received its recent impetus from H. Seesemann, *Der Begriff KOINONIA im Neuen Testament* (BZNW 14; Geissen: Töpelmann, 1933); cf. the commentaries by Windisch (p. 428); Lietzmann (p. 162); Bultmann (p. 251); Barrett (p. 344); Furnish (p. 584); Martin (p. 505); see also J.D.G. Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1975), p. 261.

how the living God not only brings us into an intimate and abiding relationship with himself, as the God of all grace, but also causes us to participate in all the benefits of that grace and salvation, indwelling us in the present by his own presence, guaranteeing our final eschatological glory.

Granted that Paul did not wrestle with the ontological questions which such statements beg to have addressed. Nor does he here *assert* the deity of Christ and the Spirit. But what he does is to *equate the activity of the three divine persons* (to use the language of a later time) *in concert and in one prayer*, with the clause about God the Father standing in second place. This would seem to suggest that Paul was truly Trinitarian in any meaningful sense of that term—that the one God is Father, Son and Spirit, and that in dealing with Christ and the Spirit one is dealing with God every bit as much as one is with God the Father.

It is thus not difficult to see why such a profound moment of theology—in the form of *prayer* for the Corinthians—should be the single most appropriate way to conclude this letter. What Paul prays for them is all of this, and nothing less. He has brought them this gospel of God's love and Christ's grace; in turning to God they have received the Holy Spirit, who has removed the veil from their hearts (regarding the old covenant of stone and letter) and from their faces (so that they might be in fellowship with God himself, beholding his glory in the face of Christ and being transformed into that glory). For them to abandon Paul and his apostolic ministry, Paul recognizes in a most penetrating way, is to abandon Christ and the Spirit, and thus the very love of God himself. For them to continue in their sinful ways (meals in the idol temples and sexual immorality; 6.14-7.1; 12.19-21) and for them to take up with their 'super apostles' and be brought under 'externals' (whether in the form of Jewish scruples/requirements or of the validation of spirituality by ecstasy) is to turn from true righteousness to condemnation, from life to death. It means to go after 'another Jesus', who is no Lord Jesus Christ at all; and it means to 'receive another spirit', who is not the Spirit whom they have received, who has brought them into this participation/fellowship (11.4).

5. *Conclusion*

I need now to note briefly by way of conclusion that this understanding of 11.4 and of the 'theology of gospel' in the two canonical Corinthian

letters together is further verified by the two primary 'contingencies' in 2 Corinthians—Paul's apostleship, both its reality and character; and the collection for the poor saints in Jerusalem. Indeed, we could have proceeded (perhaps more properly) from these and worked outward and would have achieved the same result; for in his defence of the one (apostleship) and urging of the other (the collection) we again run full face into Paul's gospel.

As we have noted above, the defence of his apostleship has been carried out right along in terms of its exemplifying the gospel he preached to them and by which they were saved. The problem lies not with him or his gospel but with them and their readiness to move beyond the gospel of the Crucified One into something much more triumphalistic. This is what makes them such ready candidates for the perverted expression of the gospel ('another Jesus, a different Spirit') brought to them by the peddlers of the word of God.

Thus Paul bases his appeal not only on their original experience of the saving grace of the gospel as he preached it—despite his personal weaknesses—but he argues throughout that his is the only valid apostleship, precisely because it stays aligned with the central truth of the gospel as he preached it and they received it: Christ and him crucified. By this alone can one make sense both of Paul's 'exposition' of his understanding of apostleship in 2 Cor. 2.14–7.4 and of his 'defence' of its character in 2 Corinthians 10–12.

Similarly, in appealing for their help with the collection (2 Corinthians 8–9), the ultimate theological appeal is to the gospel itself, in which 'though Christ was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that you through his "poverty" might become rich' (2 Cor. 8.9). This is an unabashed appeal to Christ's coming and to his death for their sakes—and to their experience of it—as the ultimate ground for their giving out of their present 'riches' so that others might also become 'rich'—or at least that they might have a share in the wealth of others of God's people.

Thus these letters are all about the gospel, at every turn and in every way. And the gospel has a coherence to it that is to be found ultimately in the Triune God, through whom 'salvation in Christ' has been made available to all who will trust him. This is Paul's passion; for him little else matters.

GOSPEL AND KERYGMA IN 2 CORINTHIANS

Linda L. Belleville

1. *Introduction*

The gospel has a central place in Paul's writings—a fact that should occasion no surprise, since preaching the 'good news' was part-and-parcel of what it meant to be an apostle. The frequency and diversity of verbs of proclamation bear this out (καταγγέλλω [7×], γνωρίζω [18×], εὐαγγελίζω [20×], κηρύσσω [18×], διαγγέλλω [1×]).[1] What is not as commonly recognized is that gospel language is employed by Paul with intentionality and to such an extent that it takes shape as a theological category in its own right. This shows up in the fact that εὐαγγέλιον appears sixty times in the Pauline literature, compared with a mere two times in Acts and a paltry fifteen times in the rest of the New Testament. Indeed, the noun does not appear even once in Luke, John, Hebrews, James, 2 Peter, 1–3 John or Jude. Some have credited Paul with the establishment of the term εὐαγγέλιον in the vocabulary of the New Testament. Yet, the more than twenty-three times that εὐαγγέλιον appears in his writings without further qualification suggests a familiarity of idea and language that pre-dates Paul.

Most studies to date have focused on the origin and meaning of εὐαγγέλιον in the Pauline corpus. Some have gone beyond to explore Paul's overall theology of gospel. This, however, has not been attempted with 2 Corinthians.[2] Yet the gospel, without question, plays a central role

1. Statistics for the Pauline writings include Ephesians, Colossians, 2 Thessalonians, 1–2 Timothy and Titus.

2. To my knowledge R.V.G. Tasker's article, 'St Paul and the Earthly Life of Jesus. A Study in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians', *ExpTim* 46 (1934–35), pp. 557-62, is the only study in English that explores Paul's use of kerygmatic materials in 2 Corinthians. But, even so, Tasker does not explore implications for a Pauline theology of gospel.

in the theology and polemic of the letter—a state of affairs that is not at all unexpected; for Paul's credibility as an apostle is at issue, which quite naturally also draws the Pauline gospel into the line of fire (e.g., 4.3, 'If, as some claim, our gospel is hidden...'). And while the noun εὐαγγέλιον and the verb εὐαγγελίζω only appear eight and two times respectively, the nature of the gospel ministry and the appropriate credentials of the gospel preacher are what drive the argument from beginning to end.

There are two predominant uses of εὐαγγέλιον in 2 Corinthians. The term, in the first place, denotes an objective content. This is evident from Paul's use of τὸ εὐαγγέλιον and ὁ λόγος in combination with different verbs of speaking and hearing. The gospel is something to be 'preached' (10.16; 11.7), 'proclaimed' (1.19; 4.5) and 'received' (11.4). It is also apparent from Paul's identification of the gospel with 'the truth' (4.2; 13.8), 'the word of truth' (6.7) and 'the message'(1.18, 5.19). Εὐαγγέλιον denotes, secondly, a salvific power in the world (cf. Rom. 1.16). The gospel is not merely a set of propositions to which the listener need give assent. It is also a δύναμις that has the ability to change the lives of those who hear it and receive it. This is clear from Paul's description of the gospel as a light that shines in the human heart (4.6), as an aroma of life or death to the one who hears it (2.16) and as a message that demands and imposes obedience on those who receive it (9.13). As such, it is τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγέλιον (11.7)—a salvific force, unleashed by God in human history through the person of Jesus Christ.[3]

Given limitations of time and space, this study will concern itself with the first of these two aspects, namely, gospel as kerygma, with the hope of exploring gospel as salvific power in a future article dealing with the place of christological titles, biographical details of Jesus' life, kerygmatic fragments and Pauline missionary proclamation in the theology and polemic of 2 Corinthians. An effort will also be made to determine where Paul is dependent on tradition and where he is making a distinctive contribution in his handling of kerygmatic materials. Gospel as kerygma was chosen because it falls in line with Richard N. Longenecker's published works in the areas of early Jewish christology, the Acts of the Apostles, and Pauline soteriology. It is to him as mentor and esteemed New Testament colleague that this article is warmly dedicated.

3. J.A. Fitzmyer, 'The Gospel in the Theology of Paul', *Int* 33 (1979), p. 343.

2. *Gospel as Kerygma*

a. *Paul's Use of Traditional Materials*

The message Paul preached at Corinth, simply put, was 'Jesus' (11.4 Ἰησοῦν ὃν ἐκηρύξαμεν)—a term that implies knowledge of the common core of traditions surrounding the life of Christ.[4] This squares with Paul's expressed role as transmitter, not originator, of the kerygma. Twice he says to the Corinthians, 'I delivered to you that which I received' (1 Cor. 11.23-25; 15.3). Nor are the Corinthians an isolated example. Technical language for the transmission of tradition is found throughout Paul's writings. Some churches are praised for 'holding to the traditions' just as he 'passed on' to them (Rom. 6.17; 1 Cor. 11.2). Others are commanded to do so (Phil. 4.9; 2 Thess. 2.15; 3.6). Paul also takes care to distinguish when he is drawing on tradition (1 Cor. 7.10; 9.14; 11.23-25; 1 Thess. 4.15) and when he is not (e.g., 'judge for yourselves', 1 Cor. 10.15; cf. 1 Cor. 7.12, 25, 40; 2 Cor. 8.10).[5]

The language of receiving and passing on of kerygmatic material is not found in 2 Corinthians. Paul's interest, however, lay not in the transmission of tradition, but, rather, in its interpretation. This is not surprising, since he is writing to those who had been converted some years earlier. Nonetheless, we do catch the occasional glimpse of Paul's

4. One suspects that the intent of Paul's first post-conversion visit to Jerusalem was not merely to become 'acquainted' with Peter (Gal. 1.18) but also to familiarize himself with the Jesus stories. Indeed, J. Jeremias maintains it can be demonstrated that Paul had an intimate knowledge of what Jesus said and taught. Paul's use of the word Αββα (Rom. 8.15; Gal. 4.6) and the command to bless and not curse persecutors (Rom. 12.14; 1 Cor. 4.12)—two unique features of Jesus' teaching—suggest that this was so ('The Key to Pauline Theology', *ExpTim* 76 [1964–65], p. 30). For further discussion, see A. Cabaniss, 'The Gospel According to Paul', *EvQ* 48 (1976), pp. 165-67 and Tasker, 'The Earthly Life of Jesus', pp. 557-58.

5. For discussion, see L.L. Belleville, 'Authority', in G.F. Hawthorne, R.P. Martin and D.G. Reid (eds.), *Dictionary of Paul and his Letters* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 1993), p. 57. The traditions Paul explicitly makes mention of include Jesus' last supper with his disciples (1 Cor. 11.23-26), the events surrounding Jesus' death, resurrection and subsequent appearances (1 Cor. 15.3-8) and Jesus' teaching regarding the end time (1 Thess. 4.15-16; 2 Thess. 2.1-12), moral behavior (Rom. 6.15-18; Phil. 1.27; 4.8-9; 1 Thess. 4.1), marriage (1 Cor. 7.10-11), financial support of the Christian worker (1 Cor. 9.14; 1 Tim. 5.18) and communal responsibilities (2 Thess. 3.6-15).

original proclamation. Central to this proclamation are the titles 'Christ', 'Son of God' and 'Lord'.[6]

b. *Christological Titles*

'Jesus is the Christ' was one primary constituent of Paul's message. Indeed, the message that he preached at Corinth is defined as τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ (2 Cor. 2.12; 4.4; 9.13; 10.14). Four of the eight εὐαγγέλιον references in the letter are qualified in this fashion. While it is possible that τοῦ Χριστοῦ is a genitive of source: 'the gospel whose author is Christ', virtually all today take the genitive to be objective: 'the gospel about Christ'. Whether Paul is using Χριστός as a title or as a proper name is at issue. Certainly one prominent aspect of early Christian proclamation was the demonstration that Jesus was the promised Messiah of Jewish expectation (Acts 2.36; 8.5; 9.22; 17.3; 18.5, 28).[7] And while Paul does not dwell on Jesus' messiahship in the Corinthian correspondence, opposition during his founding visit came precisely at this point (Acts 18.5-6). It is sometimes argued that Paul's use of Χριστός as a proper name all but excludes any titular force. Yet, its kerygmatic significance makes the line of demarcation between title and name difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish.

'Jesus is the Son of God' was a second component of the gospel Paul preached at Corinth (ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ γὰρ υἱὸς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ ἐν ὑμῖν δι' ἡμῶν κηρυχθεῖς, 2 Cor. 1.19). The title 'Son of God' is found only once in 2 Corinthians (and only a total of four times in Paul's letters: Rom. 1.4; 2 Cor. 1.19; Gal. 2.20; Eph. 4.13). Nonetheless, the

6. For the position that Paul's use of the titles 'Christ', 'Son of God', and 'Lord' derive from his Damascus road encounter with the risen, exalted Jesus, see, R.Y.K. Fung, 'Revelation and Tradition: The Origins of Paul's Gospel, *EvQ* 57 (1985), pp. 26-27.

7. For discussion, see R.N. Longenecker, *The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity* (London: SCM Press, 1970; repr., Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1981), p. 74. While it is true that Χριστός had become a proper name by the time Paul wrote 2 Corinthians, a titular use can be found in Paul's writings. Χριστός in Rom. 9.5 is certainly one of the clearest examples. Romans 1.2-4; 1 Cor. 10.4; 15.22; 2 Cor. 5.10; 11.2-3; Phil. 1.15, 17, 3.7; Eph. 1.10, 12, 20; 5.14 are also passages where Χριστός, quite probably, has messianic connotations. For discussion, see N.A. Dahl, *The Crucified Messiah and Other Essays* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1974), pp. 37-40 and n. 11; and W.G. Kümmel, *The Theology of the New Testament According to its Major Witnesses: Jesus–Paul–John* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1973), p. 154.

matter-of-fact way that ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ υἱός is interjected at 1.19 points to a familiar ascription. How far back this ascription goes is open to debate.[8] Its presence in Rom. 1.4, a text that has the character of a traditional formulation, indicates a pre-Pauline origin (τοῦ ὁρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει).[9] It was the contention of Rudolf Bultmann that 'Son of God' was the early church's attempt to put the Jewish idea of Messiah into language understandable to a Gentile world.[10] Yet, Jesus' address of the Father as 'Abba' provides clear grounds for a primary attribution (Mk 14.36; cf. Rom. 8.15; Gal. 4.6). Moreover, the Qumran Scrolls have shown there was a pre-Christian expectation, based on 2 Sam. 7.14 and Ps. 2.7, that the Messiah would be in some sense God's son (e.g., 4QFlor 10-12; 4QpsDan A 1.7–2.1).[11] Fulfilment of this expectation in the person of Jesus was a central element of early Jewish-Christian proclamation (e.g., Acts 9.20; 13.33).

'Son of God' in Paul is more than a messianic title. It was the

8. For the contention that the origin of Son of God language is to be found in the heavenly emissary of gnosis and Hellenistic-Jewish wisdom speculation, see R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (trans. K. Grobel; 2 vols.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951, 1955), I, p. 50 and Kümmel, *Theology*, p. 121. P. Stuhlmacher maintains that 'Son of God' for Paul is Christ exalted to the right hand of God and installed in the position of Lord ('The Pauline Gospel', in P. Stuhlmacher [ed.], *The Gospel and the Gospels* [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1991], p. 154). Yet, of Paul's four uses of the title, only the one in Rom. 1.4 is connected with resurrection-exaltation (Rom. 1.4; 2 Cor. 1.19; Gal. 2.20; Eph. 4.13).

9. For other fragments of kerygma where the ascription 'Son of God' is found, see J.A. Fitzmyer, *Pauline Theology: A Brief Sketch* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice–Hall, 1967), p. 50.

10. Bultmann, *Theology*, I, pp. 128-32.

11. 4QFlor 10–12: '"I will be a father to him and he shall be my son". This is the Branch of David who will arise with the Seeker of the Law and who will sit on the throne of Zion at the end of days...'; cf. 4QpsDan A 1.7–2.1, '[But your son] shall be great on the earth. O King! All will make peace and all will serve him... He will be hailed as the Son of the Great God and they will call him Son of the Most High'. For discussion, see Longenecker, 'Christology', p. 95; J.A. Fitzmyer, 'The Contribution of Qumran Aramaic to the Study of the New Testament', *NTS* 20 (1974), p. 393; I.H. Marshall, 'υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ', *NIDNTT*, III, p. 637. Fitzmyer correctly points out that the titles Son of God and Messiah are not conjoined in these texts. Yet, to speak of the descendant of the enthroned king as 'the Son of the Great God' is essentially to call him Messiah. For the Essene expectation of a Davidic Messiah, see, e.g., 4Q Patriarchal Blessings 3–4 'until the messiah of righteousness comes, the Branch of David'.

presumption of the early church that Jesus was already God's Son before he was born. Paul reflects this understanding in his use of kerygmatic fragments like 'God sent his Son, born of a woman' (Gal. 4.4) and 'God sent his Son in the likeness of sinful flesh' (Rom. 8.3).[12] Martin Hengel has shown that Paul employs the title 'Son of God' to demonstrate the filial bond between Jesus and God by virtue of which he can function as mediator of salvation between God and humanity.[13] It is God's Son who was born under law to redeem those under law (Gal. 4.6). It is God's Son who died and rose again (Rom. 1.4). And it is God's Son who now reigns with a view to subjecting all rule and authority to himself, at which point the Son himself will be subjected to the Father 'so that God may be all in all' (1 Cor. 15.25-28). The mediatorial role that Christ plays as God's Son is equally evident in the theology of 2 Corinthians. Salvation is accomplished through 'Jesus Christ, the Son of God' in whom all God's promises find their fulfilment (ναὶ, 1.18-20). 2 Cor. 4.4 and 4.6 are particularly important in drawing together the Son's creative and revelatory tasks.[14] The light of the gospel resides in him as 'the image of God' (4.4) and knowledge of God is made known in his 'face' (4.6).

'Jesus is Lord' was a third component of Paul's gospel: οὐ γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς κηρύσσομεν ἀλλὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν κύριον (4.5). The attribution does not originate with Paul. Central to the kerygma was the belief that Jesus ascended to God's right hand.[15] It was a salient feature of early Jewish-Christian preaching (Acts 2.33; 5.31; 7.55-56; cf. Heb. 1.3), which, in turn, was carried over into Hellenistic contexts (Rom. 8.34; Eph. 1.20; Col. 3.1; 1 Pet. 3.22). There is also every evidence that Jesus' lordship was one of the earliest Christian confessions. The kerygmatic phrases in Rom. 10.9: 'If you confess with your lips that Jesus is Lord' and Phil. 2.11: 'every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord' show the currency of this attribution in Hellenistic circles. Much

12. See L. Goppelt, *Theology of the New Testament* (trans. J.E. Alsup; 2 vols.; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1982), II, p. 74; Kümmel, *Theology*, pp. 160-61. W. Kramer has shown that Paul employs the titles 'Son' and 'Son of God' in stereotypical formulas that he has taken over from earlier tradition (*Christ, Lord, Son of God* [SBT, 50; Naperville, IL; A.R. Allenson, 1966], pp. 186-89).

13. M. Hengel, *The Son of God* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), pp. 9-15.

14. Hengel, *The Son of God*, p. 14.

15. To say 'Jesus is Lord' implies that he is the messianic sovereign at God's right hand (cf. Acts 2.34; Rom. 8.34; 1 Cor. 15.25). For discussion, see Dahl, *Crucified Messiah*, p. 44.

more to the point is its currency in Aramaic circles. The Corinthians' familiarity with the Aramaic liturgical formula 'Maranatha' suggests as much (1 Cor. 16.22). Regardless of whether 'Maranatha' is read as a present imperative (μαράνα θά, 'Our Lord, Come!') or as a perfect indicative (μαρὰν ἀθᾶ, 'Our Lord has come'), implicit in the formula is an acknowledgment of the present rule and reign of Christ.[16]

Different aspects of Jesus' lordship are emphasized in the Corinthian correspondence. In 1 Corinthians it is the subjection of all existing rule and authority that is stressed. Christ must reign 'until God has put all his enemies under his feet' (1 Cor. 15.25-27). In 2 Corinthians, it is Christ's future role as judge that is in view. The Old Testament day of Yahweh (e.g., Amos 5.18-20) becomes τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου [ἡμῶν] Ἰησοῦ (2 Cor. 1.14), when everyone will appear before his judgment seat to receive what is their due (5.10). In fact, if Paul's preaching in Athens is at all representative, then Christ's role as future judge was a regular part of his message (Acts 17.31; cf. 1 Thess. 1.9-10). In both of the Corinthian letters, Christ's lordship is pre-eminently seen in the church. At conversion, the believer enters into slave service to Christ and is called to δοξάσατε τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν.[17] This is especially true of the gospel preacher, who proclaims not only Jesus as 'Lord' but ἑαυτοὺς δὲ δούλους ὑμῶν διὰ Ἰησοῦν (2 Cor. 4.5).[18]

c. Biographical Details of Jesus' Life

Modern scholarship has made much of the fact that Paul shows little interest in the biographical details of Jesus' life.[19] It is important, however, to remember that Paul's letters are not evangelistic tracts but

16. For discussion, see G. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1987), pp. 838-39 and H. Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians* (trans. J.W. Leitch; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), pp. 300-301.

17. Kümmel, *Theology*, p. 158.

18. ἑαυτούς is placed first for emphasis. This may be by way of contrast with Paul's Corinthians rivals who seek to dominate, not serve, the church (2 Cor. 11.20).

19. References to the teaching of Jesus in Paul's writings are also sparse. See P. Stuhlmacher, 'The Pauline Gospel', p. 160; and A.J.M. Wedderburn, 'Paul and Jesus', *SJT* 38 (1985), p. 190, for the suggestion that Paul deliberately avoided explicit reference to Jesus' teaching because it was being used in a legalistic way by his Judaizing opponents. Wedderburn also makes the further suggestion that Paul may have felt that to appeal too often to Jesus' teachings might call into question his own independence and authority in relation to those in the Jerusalem church who had first-hand knowledge of it (p. 191).

occasional writings aimed at people who had already come to the Christian faith and for whom the facts of Jesus' life and ministry needed no repeating.[20] Yet, in so far as Jesus' life has bearing on Christian life and witness, Paul draws freely upon it. 2 Corinthians is a case in point, where the 'meekness and gentleness of Christ' (10.1) and 'the dying of Jesus' (4.10) provide a paradigm for the itinerant preacher. Both biographical details are closely tied into the polemic of the letter. From 10.7-11, it is clear that Paul has been accused of trying to frighten the Corinthians with his letters to which he responds that he approaches them with the same qualities of temperament that Jesus himself exhibited: Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐγὼ Παῦλος παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς διὰ τῆς πραΰτητος καὶ ἐπιεικείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ (10.1). The adjectives πραΰτης and ἐπιείκεια are close synonyms. Πραΰτης is descriptive of a gentle and friendly temperament (cf Mt. 11.29),[21] while ἐπιείκεια denotes a yielding or forbearing disposition—the judge who is lenient in judgment and the king who is kind in his rule (e.g., Acts 24.4).[22] This is over against Paul's rivals at Corinth who seek to dominate, exploit, con and insult the Corinthians (2 Cor. 11.20).

Paul's source for this biographical detail is not given.[23] The noun πραΰτης is not found in the gospel tradition but the adjective πραΰς is. It appears in the familiar Matthean invitation to take up Jesus' yoke and learn from him, for he is πραὺς καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ (11.29). It also occurs in the Matthean account of Jesus' triumphal entry, where his procession into Jerusalem on a donkey is said to fulfil Zech. 9.9: 'See your king comes to you gentle and riding on a donkey' (ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεύς σου ἔρχεταί σοι πραὺς καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὄνον, Mt. 21.4-5). Ἐπιείκεια, the second disposition Paul cites, is found only here and in Acts 24.4 in the New Testament. But the association in Mt. 21.5 of πραΰς with the Davidic king of Jewish expectation certainly

20. H. Ridderbos, *Paul and Jesus* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1974), p. 51; C.F.D. Moule, 'Jesus in New Testament Kerygma', in E.A. Livingstone (ed.), *Studia Evangelica* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1973), VI, p. 384. As J.D.G. Dunn observes, it is not easy to uncover Paul's missionary preaching from his letters, since they are directed to those already converted and only occasionally refer to the preaching which brought about the conversions (*Unity and Diversity in the New Testament* [Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1977], p. 21).

21. F. Hauck, 'πραΰς', *TDNT*, VI, pp. 645-46.

22. *BAGD* s.v.; H. Preisker, 'ἐπιείκεια', *TDNT*, II, pp. 588-90.

23. R.V.G. Tasker thinks that 2 Cor. 10.1 betrays a knowledge of certain incidents of the gospel story learned from Luke ('The Earthly Life of Jesus', pp. 559-60).

paves the way for the attribution of regal forbearance to Jesus.

The 'dying of Jesus', the second biographical detail that Paul makes mention of, comes at the tail end of a catalog of hardships and trials that certify genuine apostleship: ἐν παντὶ θλιβόμενοι...πάντοτε τὴν νέκρωσιν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι περιφέροντες (4.8-10a). Paul's choice of terms is significant. Ἰησοῦ without further qualification is Paul's usual way of referring to the earthly Jesus.[24] Νέκρωσις, however, is not at all typical of Paul. Indeed, the term occurs in the New Testament only here and in Rom. 4.19 and not at all in the Septuagint. Why Paul would choose this term over θάνατος, his usual word for death, lies in the fact that νέκρωσις denotes the process of dying, rather than death per se.[25] Paul is thinking beyond the cross to the hardships and troubles that took their daily toll on Jesus as an itinerant preacher. The theological implication of describing Jesus' earthly ministry in this way is that the incarnate life of Jesus—and not just the crucifixion—becomes the locus of God's redemptive activity.[26] Why this should be so is plain from v. 10b. For, it is only in carrying around the dying of Jesus that ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι ἡμῶν φανερωθῇ. At issue is how God manifests his power. Paul's opponents claim that it is through the working of signs, wonders, and miracles (12.12). Paul, on the other hand, maintains that God's power (= the 'life of Jesus') is made known in and through ministerial hardship and distress. The 'dying' of Jesus is what must typify the life of the gospel preacher, if the 'life' of Jesus would be revealed.[27]

d. *Kerygmatic Fragments*

Three profound statements about the life of Christ find an integral place in the argumentation of 2 Corinthians. Each has the ring of a conviction arrived at through theological reflection on the redemptive character of Jesus' life (i.e., incarnation, death and resurrection). Each is riddled with

24. See J. Murphy-O'Connor, *The Theology of the Second Letter to the Corinthians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 47.

25. νέκρωσις, attested only from the Hellenistic period, means the withering or mortification of the body or of a sick member. See R. Bultmann, 'νέκρωσις', *TDNT*, IV, p. 895.

26. The idea that the incarnate life of Jesus is the locus of God's redemptive activity also appears in 8.9, 'he became poor so that you might become rich' and in 5.19, 'God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself'.

27. περιφέροντες in v. 10 is descriptive of the itinerant life of the gospel preacher, while πάντοτε points to what is commonplace versus exceptional.

interpretative difficulties—although the kerygmatic implications of each are clear: 'Though he was rich, yet for our sakes he became poor' (8.9); 'One died for all, therefore all died' (5.14) and 'He who knew no sin, was made to be sin for our sakes' (5.21).

The Incarnation. The first of these kerygmatic fragments forms part of Paul's strategy to get the Corinthian church to follow through on a pledge to the Jerusalem relief fund that had been made the year before (8.10-11). As a final point of appeal in 8.1-9 he turns to the supreme example of generosity against which he asks the Corinthians to gauge the sincerity of their commitment to the larger community of believers: γινώσκετε γὰρ τὴν χάριν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι δι' ὑμᾶς ἐπτώχευσεν πλούσιος ὤν, ἵνα ὑμεῖς τῇ ἐκείνου πτωχείᾳ πλουτήσητε (v. 9). There is virtual consensus that ἐπτώχευσεν and πλούσιος ὤν are descriptive of Christ's incarnate and pre-incarnate modes of existence.[28] Opinions vary, however, on what these two contrasting modes of existence entailed. Specific suggestions regarding πλούσιος ὤν include pre-incarnate majesty and power,[29] the outward signs of deity,[30] and possession of the form and nature of God.[31] Paul could also be thinking more generally of the riches of heavenly existence and communion with God. Much depends on the meaning of ἐπτώχευσεν. The aorist is most likely ingressive: Christ 'entered into a state of' poverty. What this state amounted to is at issue. Paul could be thinking of how Jesus was born into a poor family and associated with those of low social standing.[32] This, to be sure, is a

28. J.D.G. Dunn is one of the very few who argues that both πλούσιος ὤν and ἐπτώχευσεν are descriptive of the incarnation. Following his construal, πλούσιος ὤν is Jesus' communion with God (expressed in αββα prayer) and ἐπτώχευσεν is the desolation that he experienced on the cross when that communion was withdrawn (*Christology in the Making* [Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1980], pp. 121-22).

29. E.g., J. Héring, *2 Corinthians* (London: Epworth, 1967), p. 60; C.E.B. Cranfield, 'The Grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ', *Communio Viatorum* 32 (1989), p. 107.

30. E.g., V.P. Furnish, *II Corinthians* (New York: Doubleday, 1984), p. 417.

31. E.g., F.F. Bruce, *I and II Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), p. 222.

32. E.g., D. MacDonald, 'The Price of Poverty', *Review for Religious* 45 (1986), pp. 3-14, p. 5; Héring, *2 Corinthians*, p. 60; Tasker, 'The Earthly Life of Jesus', p. 560.

redactional emphasis of Luke's Gospel (e.g., 2.24, 6.20-26; 16.19-31). Alternatively, he could have in mind Jesus' identification with those who are 'poor in spirit'—a Matthean redactional stress (e.g., 5.3, 6, 20). Επτώχευσεν could also refer to the condescension involved in Christ becoming a human being or to Christ's identification with the human condition as such.[33]

On the whole, the 'riches' of heavenly existence and the 'poverty' of the human condition offers the best point of contrast in the context. It also fits Paul's description of Christ's action as τὴν χάριν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. The choice of terms is significant. Χάρις denotes unmerited generosity, while the article τήν points to a decisive point in history when such generosity was concretely demonstrated.[34] Christ's willingness to lay aside the wealth of heavenly existence to identify completely with the poverty of the human condition is the act of divine generosity that comes most readily to mind.

What, then, are the christological implications of 2 Cor. 8.9? With few exceptions, the pre-existence of Christ is thought to be plainly taught in this verse.[35] Use of the full christological title, 'our Lord Jesus Christ', and the introductory phrase γινώσκετε γάρ suggest that Paul is drawing on a traditional formula or creedal statement.[36] The fact that he does not feel compelled to argue the case shows that this was a dogma generally affirmed by the early church. It is sometimes claimed that the risen Christ overshadows and, in fact, displaces the earthly Jesus in Paul's writings. It is true that the life of Jesus is not held up in Paul's writings as a standard of moral excellence as is done, for instance, in the

33. See, for example, A. Ross, 'The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ', *EvQ* 13 (1941), p. 223; R.P. Martin, *2 Corinthians* (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1986), p. 263; Furnish, *II Corinthians*, p. 417; Bruce, *I and II Corinthians*, p. 222; Ridderbos, *Paul and Jesus*, p. 301; A. Plummer, *The Second Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1915), p. 241; F. Craddock, 'The Poverty of Christ. An Investigation of II Corinthians 8–9', *Int* 22 (1968), p. 166.

34. For discussion, see M. Zerwick, *Biblical Greek* (Rome: Pontifical Institute, 1963), §176.

35. See, for instance, Goppelt, *Theology*, II, pp. 75-76; Kümmel, *Theology*, p. 170; P.E. Hughes, *Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1962), p. 301; Plummer, *Second Epistle*, p. 241; Furnish, *II Corinthians*, p. 417.

36. For discussion, see Martin, *2 Corinthians*, p. 263 and Furnish, *II Corinthians*, p. 417.

letter to the Hebrews.[37] In 2 Corinthians 8, in particular, the sacrificial character of Jesus's life would have served as an admirable model of generosity. And yet, Paul does not make his appeal on this basis. But neither does he impose the risen, heavenly Christ back onto the mundane, earthly Jesus, as some would suggest.[38] On the contrary, Paul begins with the sacrificial act of the pre-existent Son of God in laying aside his heavenly mode of existence and identifying himself with the human condition—and the earthly life of Jesus takes its significance from this fact.

Jesus' Death. The crucifixion is a second event in the life of Christ that takes on redemptive significance. References to Jesus' death occur three times in 2 Corinthians (5.14, 21; 13.4). The first of these provides a rationale for why Paul feels compelled to preach the gospel: ἡ γὰρ ἀγάπη τοῦ Χριστοῦ συνέχει ἡμᾶς, κρίναντας τοῦτο, ὅτι εἷς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν, ἄρα οἱ πάντες ἀπέθανον (5.14). Κρίναντας τοῦτο shows that it is not the mere fact of Christ's death but a conviction about it that leaves Paul with no option. Κρίνω, whose basic meaning is to 'separate' or 'sift', is commonly used of a conclusion drawn after thoroughly evaluating the facts.[39] Here, it is used of a carefully considered judgment as opposed to accepting something on good faith. Judged according to the standards of the world, Jesus appeared to die a criminal's death (i.e., he was personally culpable). The law-abiding Jew, in particular, would judge anyone 'who hung on a tree' as 'cursed' of God (Deut. 21.23; cf. 'under a ban' [חרם], Deut. 7.26). So, to all outward appearances, Jesus was a messianic pretender who justifiably died a criminal's death. Paul's encounter with the risen Christ on the road to Damascus, however, forced a re-evaluation that led to quite a different conclusion.[40]

The conclusion Paul reached after reassessing the facts surrounding Christ's death was ὅτι εἷς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν (v. 14b). Jesus died a criminal's death but the crime, in this case,was not his own but humanity's. The introductory ὅτι and aorist verbs suggest that Paul is citing a creedal formula, albeit with some modifications to reflect his

37. For discussion, see G.E. Ladd, *A Theology of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1974), p. 516.

38. See, e.g., Kümmel, *Theology*, p. 160.

39. See, W. Schneider, 'κρίμα', *NIDNTT*, II, p. 362.

40. For discussion, see P. Stuhlmacher, 'The Pauline Gospel', p. 155.

own thought-out convictions (cf. Rom. 6.3-4; 1 Cor. 11.23; 15.3).[41] What this creedal formula looked like in its original form can be ascertained from 1 Cor. 15.3, where Paul states that he passed along to the Corinthians what had been formally transmitted to him (παρέδωκα γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν πρώτοις, ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον), namely, ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν κατὰ τὰς γραφάς, cf. Gal. 1.4). To reflect his own convictions about the death of Christ, Paul alters the original formulation at three significant points. First, ὑπὲρ πάντων replaces ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν. The change introduces two interpretative difficulties. One is the scope of πάντων. Does ὑπὲρ πάντων have in view all believers or all people? The contrast between 'one' and 'all' suggests that πάντων is to be taken in its broadest sense, in which case Paul would be pointing to the all-encompassing scope of Christ's death.[42] The second difficulty is the force of ὑπέρ. Is it equivalent to ἀντί (i.e., Christ died in our place) or does it bear its usual sense, 'on behalf of' (i.e., Christ died as our representative)? The fact that Paul routinely employs ὑπέρ where ἀντί would have been expected allows for either possibility (e.g., Gal. 3.13; 1 Tim. 2.6; cf. Rom. 5.6-7; 8.32; Gal. 2.20; Tit. 2.14). But the final clause of v. 14 would seem to demand the former, substitutionary meaning (ἄρα οἱ πάντες ἀπέθανον).[43] The only way the death of one could be the death of all is if the one were dying their death.[44] That ὑπέρ, in certain instances, would bear the

41. For discussion, see Furnish, *II Corinthians*, p. 310.

42. See, however, Martin (*2 Corinthians*, p. 131) and Bruce (*I and II Corinthians*, p. 207) who argue that πάντων = all believers. It is true that Paul elsewhere teaches a particular redemption (e.g., 'Christ died for *us*', Rom. 5.8; 1 Thess. 5.10; 'Christ died for *our* sins', 1 Cor. 15.3). Yet, here his logic seems to move from universal redemption ('one died for all', v. 14) to a particular application ('those who live, no longer live for themselves, v. 15). While Christ died for all of humanity, it is only believers who reap the benefits. Along similar lines, J.D.G. Dunn argues that in death Jesus represents all people; for, there is no other possible end for humankind but death. In resurrection, however, he represents only those who identify themselves with him and experience life-giving Spirit ('Paul's Understanding of the Death of Jesus', in R. Banks [ed.], *Reconciliation and Hope* [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1974], pp. 130-31).

43. See, R. Bultmann, *The Second Letter to the Corinthians* (trans. R.A. Harrisville; Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1985), p. 151; J.-F. Collange, *Enigmes de la deuxième épître de Paul aux Corinthiens. Etude exégétique de 2 Cor. 2.14–7.4* (SNTSMS, 18; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 254.

44. M.J. Harris, 'Prepositions and Theology in the Greek New Testament', *NIDNTT*, III, p. 1196.

sense of ἀντί is not wholly unexpected, since to act on behalf of a person often involves acting in their place.[45] A case in point is Gal. 3.13, where Christ is said to have redeemed us from the curse of the Law by becoming a curse ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν (cf. 1 Tim. 2.6).[46]

The second change Paul makes to the original formulation is the dropping of the phrase κατὰ τὰς γραφάς. There is little doubt that 'Christ died for our sins κατὰ τὰς γραφάς' in 1 Cor.15.3 refers to Isa. 53.4-10 and the role of the עבד יהוה.[47] So, it is peculiar that Paul would omit the phrase in a section that centers on Christ's atoning work. In fact, the climax of this section, 'he who knew no sin was made sin for us' is a clear allusion to Isa. 53.6, 10. Even so, Paul's purpose in 2 Corinthians 5.14-21 is not to transmit tradition but to draw out its redemptive implications.

The third change is the replacement of Χριστός with εἷς. Εἷς coming first in the clause shows that this is where the stress lay: εἷς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν. Is the notion of one dying for all original to Paul? The fact that it reappears in 1 Tim. 2.6, where it takes on the character of a creedal formula, suggests that it pre-dates Paul (ὁ δοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων, τὸ μαρτύριον καιροῖς ἰδίοις). Its presence in the Synoptic tradition points to a Palestinian origin. The wording of Mk 10.45 is not an exact parallel, but the basic thought is the same: γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθεν διακονηθῆναι ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν (par. Mt. 20.28). John 11.50 is an even closer parallel: συμφέρει ὑμῖν ἵνα εἷς ἄνθρωπος ἀποθάνῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ ἔθνος ἀπόληται.

What are the theological implications of 5.14? J.D.G. Dunn suggests

45. For discussion, see G.B. Winer, *A Grammar of the Idiom of the New Testament* (Andover, MA: W.F. Draper, 1870), p. 383; A.T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville, TN: Broadman, 1934), pp. 630-31; C.F.D. Moule, *An Idiom-Book of New Testament Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), p. 64; Plummer, *Second Epistle*, p. 174.

46. Compare 1 Cor. 15.22: ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ πάντεςἀποθνῄσκουσιν, οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ πάντες ζῳοποιηθήσονται and Rom. 5.18: Ἄρα οὖν ὡς δι' ἑνὸς παραπτώματος εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς κατάκριμα, οὕτως καὶ δι' ἑνὸς δικαιώματος εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς δικαίωσιν ζωῆς.

47. For discussion, see O. Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament* (trans. S.C. Guthrie and C.A.M. Hall; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, rev. edn, 1963), pp. 75-78.

that the significance of εἷς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν lies in the representational character of Christ's death. Christ died not 'instead of' Adam, but 'as' Adam. The key idea which runs through Paul's christology and binds it to his soteriology is that of solidarity or representation. Jesus became what we are (i.e., fallen) in order that by his death and resurrection we might become what he is (i.e., new life).[48] But does this go far enough? Paul's statement in v. 14c suggests it does not. For, only the death of one in the place of all can explain the consequent death of all (ἄρα οἱ πάντες ἀπέθανον). The role of a proxy is perhaps the better fit, in that one who functions as proxy has been authorized not only to act on behalf of another but to serve as their replacement or substitute.[49]

Both ideas of 'representative' and 'proxy', as B.W. Bacon maintains, are best understood against the Isaianic ideal of the Suffering Servant.[50] Even though Paul does not explicitly cite from the Servant Songs, the phraseology of 'one died for all' (cf. Isa. 53.5, 'he was crushed for our iniquities'), 'he reconciled us to himself' (cf. 53.5 'the punishment that brought us peace'), 'he knew no sin' (cf. 53.9; 'he had done no violence; nor was any deceit in his mouth'), 'he was made sin for us' (cf. 53.10, 'the Lord makes his life a guilt offering'), and 'that we might become the righteousness of God' (cf. 53.11, 'my righteous servant will justify many') recalls the central ideas and language of Isaiah 53. Does Paul's view of Jesus as the עבד יהוה whose death was an atoning sacrifice for sin originate with him? The fact that Paul, in an earlier letter, cites matter-of-factly an already existent confession of the early church that centers on the vicarious death of the Isaianic Servant shows that it does not (1 Cor. 15.3). Oscar Cullmann claims, on the basis of the servant theology central to the Petrine tradition in Acts 3–4, that this view of Jesus is very ancient, indeed (cf. Rom. 5.12-21; Phil. 2.2-7).[51] B.W. Bacon, with some justification, would locate it in Jesus' institution of the Last Supper, which Paul himself claims to have 'received' by tradition (1 Cor. 11.23-25).[52]

A second reference to the death of Christ is found at the end of ch. 5:

48. J.D.G. Dunn, 'Death of Jesus', pp. 125-41. See also, Hooker, 'Interchange in Christ', *JTS* 22 (1971), p. 358.

49. See, Martin, *2 Corinthians*, p. 131.

50. B.W. Bacon, 'The Gospel Paul "Received"', *AJT* 21 (1917), pp. 33-35.

51. Cullmann, *Christology*, pp. 75-78.

52. Bacon, 'Gospel', p. 35.

τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν, ἵνα ἡμεῖς γενώμεθα δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ (v. 21). There are a number of contextual indications that it comes at the tail end of a summary statement of Paul's missionary preaching. First, the material in vv. 19-21 is identified as ὁ λόγος, a term that elsewhere in the Pauline letters refers to the gospel message (v. 19c, θέμενος ἐν ἡμῖν τὸν λόγον τῆς καταλλαγῆς, cf. Eph. 1.13, τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας, and Col. 1.5, τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ εὐαγγελίου). Secondly, the statement begins with ὅτι, the way Paul commonly introduces a quote. Thirdly, the terminology of vv. 19-21 is that of missionary commissioning language: '*We* received the word of reconciliation' (v. 19c); '*We* are Christ's ambassadors' (v. 20). Fourthly, δεόμεθα lacks a direct object (δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, καταλλάγητε τῷ θεῷ). This shows that Paul is not appealing directly to the Corinthians but giving the substance of the call that he routinely made following a presentation of the gospel message. And fifthly, the lack of any connective at v. 21 indicates that this call extends through this verse. If so, then τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν served as the theological basis for Paul's evangelistic appeal to be reconciled to God.

It is commonly thought that v. 21 is a piece of creedal material. The rhythmic character and non-Pauline phraseology lend credence to this suggestion.[53] Without a doubt, it contains two key kerygmatic elements: τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν and ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν. There is virtual consensus that γινώσκω denotes a practical and experiential knowing.[54] Jesus did not possess knowledge of sin that comes through personal experience. To what period of time does this state of affairs apply, though? Is Paul thinking of Christ's pre-incarnate existence or of his earthly life? That Christ was without sin prior to the incarnation goes without saying. That he also was without sin during his incarnation is well-documented in the New Testament. The author to the Hebrews

53. See, Collange, *Enigmes*, pp. 275-76; E. Käsemann, 'Some Thoughts on the Theme "The Doctrine of Reconciliation in the New Testament"', in J.M. Robinson (ed.), *The Future of our Religious Past* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), p. 53; R.P. Martin, *Reconciliation: A Study of Paul's Theology* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1981), pp. 92-97. Käsemann lists as non-Pauline features of this verse: (1) the sinlessness of Jesus, (2) Jesus made sin for us, and (3) Christians as 'the righteousness of God' (Käsemann, 'Some Thoughts', p. 53). Compare Martin, *Reconciliation*, pp. 96-97.

54. For discussion, see M. Carrez, *La Deuxième Epître de saint Paul aux Corinthiens* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1986), p. 155.

states that Jesus 'was tempted in every way just as we are—yet without sin' (Heb. 4.15); one 'set apart from sinners' (Heb. 7.26). It was a sinlessness both in thought ('in him is no sin', 1 Jn 3.5) and action ('he committed no sin', 1 Pet. 2.22).

A final determination depends on the theologically elusive statement ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν and its relationship to τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν. The most common approach by far is to identify τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν with Christ's pre-incarnate existence and ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν with the act of incarnation whereby Christ identified himself with the human race and involved himself in the human situation.[55] A key text here is Rom. 8.3, where Paul states that 'God sent his Son in the likeness of sinful flesh'. Opinion varies, though, on the exact point of 'likeness'. Some suppose that Christ identified himself with the human experience of alienation from God.[56] Others think that Christ took on himself the lot of the human being to suffer and eventually to die.[57] Still others believe that he assumed sinful flesh and thereby connected himself to the sphere of sin's power.[58]

Although attractive, this interpretation is not without its difficulties. One problem is the aorist participle (τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν). It is not 'he who *knows* no sin' (i.e., a timeless affirmation of essential moral integrity) but 'he who *knew* no sin'. The temporal marker suggests that there was a point in time when Christ moved from having no personal acquaintance with sin to possessing an intimate knowledge of it. The logical point when this happened was the crucifixion ('He was pierced for our transgressions; crushed for our iniquities', Isa. 53.5; cf. 1 Pet. 2.22-24). A second difficulty is a logical one. It is universal human sinfulness of an all-encompassing character that necessitated divine

55. See, e.g., Plummer, *Second Epistle*, p. 187; D.E.H. Whiteley, *The Theology of St Paul* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1974), p. 137; Furnish, *II Corinthians*, p. 340; Carrez, *La Deuxième Epître*, p. 155; Tasker, 'The Earthly Life of Jesus', pp. 560-61; Goppelt, *Theology*, II, p. 97; Dunn, *Christology*, p. 121; Ridderbos, *Paul and Jesus*, pp. 74-76; Murphy-O'Connor, *Second Corinthians*, p. 62; M. Tolbert, 'Theology and Ministry: 2 Corinthians 5.11-21', *Faith and Mission* 1 (1983), p. 68; P. Ellingworth, '"For our Sake God Made Him Share our Sin"? (2 Corinthians 5.21, GNB)', *BT* 38 (1987), p. 241.

56. Tolbert, 'Theology and Ministry', p. 68; Goppelt, *Theology*, II, p. 68.

57. Dunn, 'Death', p. 128. Compare Tasker, who suggests that 'made sin' includes making friends of sinners and empathizing with their burden of sin ('The Earthly Life of Jesus', pp. 560-61).

58. Bultmann, *Theology*, I, p. 192.

redemption.[59] So Christ's ability to deal with the human condition rested upon a demonstrated sinlessness during his earthly ministry. This is what the New Testament writers consistently affirm—Jesus 'was tempted in every way just as we are—yet without sin' (Heb. 4.15); 'he bore our sins in his body on the tree, yet he had committed no sin', (1 Pet. 2.22-24). A third difficulty is with Rom. 8.3. 'Made in the likeness of sinful flesh' is not remotely the same as 'made sin'. The former is a plain statement of human solidarity; the latter defines the cost involved in procuring human redemption and reconciliation.

A second approach is to identify τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν with Christ's earthly life and ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν with his death. Those that do, differ on whether to construe ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν along legal or cultic lines. Some maintain that 'made sin' bears the legal sense of 'bore the penalty of human sin'. Christ came to stand in that relation with God that normally is the result of sin—estranged from God and the object of his wrath.[60] Others argue that 'made sin' has the cultic sense of 'made to be a sin offering'. Here, though, the precise sacrificial background needs to be determined. Is Paul drawing on the levitical act whereby the priest in laying hands on the scapegoat transfers to it the sins of the people (Lev. 4.22-31; 16.20-22)?[61] Or, does he have in mind the Servant of Yahweh whose life is made 'a guilt offering' (אם־תשים אשם נפשו, Isa. 53.10).[62]

Both legal and sacrificial interpretations of ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν are problematic in at least two respects. For one, they require that ἁμαρτία in v. 21a and b be construed in two different ways. Τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν quite plainly refers to an absence of personal experience with committing sin, rather than to a lack of knowledge of 'sin's penalty' or

59. M. Thrall, 'Salvation Proclaimed V. 2 Corinthians 5.18-21: Reconciliation with God', *ExpTim* 93 (1982), p. 230.

60. See, e.g., C.K. Barrett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), p. 180; Hughes, *Corinthians*, p. 213; Ladd, *Theology*, p. 450; S. Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel* (WUNT, 2; Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr, 1981), p. 276; Collange, *Enigmes*, pp. 276-78; E.-B. Allo, *Seconde épître aux Corinthiens* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1956), p. 172.

61. See, e.g., Dunn, 'Death', p. 133; Héring, *2 Corinthians*, p. 45; H. Thyen, *Studien zur Sündenvergebung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970), pp. 188-89; S. Lyonnet and L. Sabourin, *Sin, Redemption, and Sacrifice* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970), pp. 248-56; 269-73; D. Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 142.

62. See, e.g., Bruce, *I and II Corinthians*, p. 210; Martin, *2 Corinthians*, p. 157.

'sin's guilt-offering'. Two, parallels for the use of ἁμαρτίαν as either 'sin's penalty' or 'a sacrifice for sin' are lacking in the New Testament. But, then, Paul's language of Christ being 'made sin' is also without parallel—and for good reason. How is it that a person can be identified with an abstract concept like 'sin'? And how can someone move from the position of having no personal knowledge of a thing to becoming that thing? It is a phenomenal leap in logic that Paul requires of his readers. So, no reading of this text is going to be a perfect fit. The best that can be done is to look for the closest parallel, which, in the opinion of this writer, is 'made a sin-offering'. The equivalent Hebrew term, חטאת, can actually mean either 'sin' or 'sin offering' (e.g., Lev. 4.3-35). Also, the logic of μὴ λογιζόμενος αὐτοῖς τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν in v. 19 almost demands it. Λογίζομαι + the dative in the world of commerce referred to calculating the amount of a debt and crediting it to one's account.[63] So, if our debts are not posted to our account, it is because someone else has legally assumed them—much as the scapegoat did on the Day of Atonement (Leviticus 16) and the guilt offering did on other occasions (Leviticus 4–5). This is why God can make overtures of friendship toward those who are otherwise his enemies (θεὸς ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ κόσμον καταλλάσσων ἑαυτῷ).

In the final analysis, 'he was made sin for us' is not so different from the idea in 1 Pet. 2.24 that Christ 'himself bore our sins in his body on the tree'. Paul may well be thinking of Isa. 53.12, where the Servant of Yahweh 'was numbered with the transgressors and bore the sin of many'. But, if so, why does he employ ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν rather than the Septuagintal phrase αὐτὸς ἁμαρτίας πολλῶν ἀνήνεγκεν (Isa. 53.12b)? The theological advantage of ἐποίησεν over ἀνήνεγκεν is that it emphasizes Christ's solidarity with the human race. And this may be why Paul selects this particular phrase. It allows him to say in a way 'bore our sins' cannot that Christ so closely identified with the plight of humanity that their sin became his sin.

Jesus' Resurrection. The resurrection of Christ does not assume a prominent role in 2 Corinthians. Explicit mention of the resurrection is made a mere three times and only in the briefest way (4.14; 5.15; 13.4). Yet each reference plays an integral role in the overall argumentation and carries with it profound theological implications. The first of these provides a rationale for why Paul felt compelled to preach the gospel

63. H.W. Heidland, 'λογίζομαι', *TDNT*, IV, pp. 284-85; LSJ *s.v.*

despite hardship and opposition: ἡμεῖς πιστεύομεν, διὸ καὶ λαλοῦμεν, εἰδότες ὅτι ὁ ἐγείρας τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς σὺν Ἰησοῦ ἐγερεῖ καὶ παραστήσει σὺν ὑμῖν (4.13-14). Ἡμᾶς ἐγερεῖ ('he will raise *us*') points to a corporate event, while σὺν Ἰησοῦ is best rendered 'in the company of'. Paul is undoubtedly thinking of the parousia, when 'God will bring with Jesus those who have fallen asleep in him' (1 Thess. 4.14).

The exact thrust of v. 14 is at issue. Paul could be saying that he speaks out despite the consequences because he knows that if death takes him, God can and will raise him up. But use of the magisterial title τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν and the additional clause καὶ παραστήσει σὺν ὑμῖν point beyond resurrection to the judgment that awaits those who labour on behalf of the gospel. The verb παραστήμι means 'to cause to stand' or 'to present before'.[64] When it is employed in the LXX with a preposition it commonly refers to the special honour accorded a servant to stand before his master (e.g., 1 Kgdms 16.21; 4 Kgdms 5.25).[65] Paul's use of παραστήσει + σὺν ὑμῖν in v. 14 may well carry the same sense. There also seems to be a hint of court procedure, similar to Rom. 14.10 (παραστησόμεθα τῷ βήματι τοῦ θεοῦ) and Acts 27.24 (Παῦλε, Καίσαρί σε δεῖ παραστῆναι).[66] And while 2 Cor. 4.13 does not specify before whom Paul will stand, 5.10 spells it out quite plainly: τοὺς γὰρ πάντας ἡμᾶς φανερωθῆναι δεῖ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἵνα κομίσηται ἕκαστος τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος πρὸς ἃ ἔπραξεν, εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε φαῦλον. The prepositional phrase σὺν ὑμῖν in this context becomes significant. Although Paul faces the prospect of appearing before τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ he does not face it alone. For the Corinthians will also be raised and presented as the visible evidence of his faithful service. It is this belief that motivates Paul to speak out in spite of opposition.

A second reference to resurrection occurs in a section where Paul is spelling out the implications of Christ's sacrificial death for the Christian life (5.14-15). Motivation to live for Christ and no longer forself is based on two convictions: (1) ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν (v. 15a) and (2) ἀπέθανεν, ἵνα οἱ ζῶντες μηκέτι ἑαυτοῖς ζῶσιν ἀλλὰ τῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντι καὶ ἐγερθέντι (v. 15b). The aorists ἀποθανόντι and ἐγερθέντι point to two historical facts. The

64. LSJ *s.v.*
65. See, K. Munzer, 'παρίστημι', *NIDNTT*, I, p. 474.
66. See, B. Reicke, 'παρίστημι', *TDNT*, V, p. 840.

active voice of the first aorist denotes a voluntary action of Christ's part ('he died'). It is followed, however, by the passive voice, ('he was raised'), the deed in this case being performed by God. In a context where the focus is on Christ's atoning death, the phrase καὶ ἐγερθέντι appears almost as an afterthought. The placement of ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν between τῷ and ἀποθανόντι rather than after καὶ ἐγερθέντι reinforces this impression ('him who died for them and was raised'). Why, then, does Paul include καὶ ἐγερθέντι? Is it out of sheer habit or does it play a role in the argumentation of vv. 14-15?

'He died and rose again', to be sure, had a fixed place in the kerygma from earliest times (1 Cor. 15.3-4). Jewish-Christian preaching centred on Jesus as the one whom the Jews killed but whom God raised from the dead (Acts 2.22-24; 3.15; 4.10; 5.30; 10.39-40; 13.28-30). Paul's preaching to the Gentiles similarly focused on Jesus as the one whom God raised from the dead (1 Thess. 1.9-10; Acts 17.18, 31). So, Paul could have included the clause because of its central role in the proclamation of the early church. A close look at the context, however, shows that καὶ ἐγερθέντι also plays an important part in the argumentation of vv. 14-15. Indeed, οἱ ζῶντες and ζῶσιν seem to demand it. It is because Christ was raised that those who live, live not for themselves but for Christ (cf. εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ καινὴ κτίσις v. 17). The believer's life is intimately tied to the reality of the 'risen Christ' and not merely to the fact of his death. Hence, the confession 'Christ is risen' is tantamount to a profession of his present Lordship and implies our service to him as 'Lord' (cf 1 Cor. 6.19-20).

This undoubtedly is what Paul means in 9.13 by τῇ ὑποταγῇ τῆς ὁμολογίας ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ. One of the churches' earliest confessions was 'Jesus is Lord' (Rom. 10.9; Phil. 2.11; 1 Cor. 16.22).[67] So, to profess 'the gospel of Christ' is to give assent to the lordship of Christ not merely in word but also in deed. This is because of the inseparable connection between Christ and the church. Christ is the 'head from whom the whole body, joined and held together by every supporting ligament, grows and builds itself up in love, as each part does its work' (Eph. 4.16). To serve Christ as Lord, then, is to serve his church. For the Corinthians this service (τῇ ὑποταγῇ) took the form of participating in relieving the material wants of the Jerusalem church (2 Cor. 8.4; 9.1, 12-14). So, it is by means of their involvement in τῆς διακονίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους that their profession of the

67. For discussion, see pp. 139-40.

kerygma is demonstrated to the church at large (9.1).

Paul's third and final reference to the resurrection appears at the end of the letter, where he warns the Corinthians not to be fooled by his gentle demeanour (10.1; 13.1-4). It may seem as if he operates out of weakness but this was the same mistaken estimate that Jesus' adversaries made of him. For, to be sure, Jesus ἐσταυρώθη ἐξ ἀσθενείας, ἀλλὰ ζῇ ἐκ δυνάμεως θεοῦ (13.4a). What Paul means by ἐσταυρώθη ἐξ ἀσθενείας is debated. He could be speaking of an erroneous human perception similar to 5.16 (Ὥστε ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐδένα οἴδαμεν κατὰ σάρκα· εἰ καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν κατὰ σάρκα Χριστόν, ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκέτι γινώσκομεν). By the world's standards, Jesus' ministry was a failure. He claimed to be the Messiah and asserted that he would usher in the kingdom of God. But in the end he succumbed to weakness and died a criminal's death. Yet, this reading of 2 Corinthians 13.4a overlooks the aorist ἐσταυρώθη. Christ *was* crucified in weakness, not 'seemed to be' or 'was regarded' as such. The opening καὶ confirms this: 'For, indeed', (καὶ γὰρ ἐσταυρώθη ἐξ ἀσθενείας). This makes it likely that Paul is using ἀσθενεία in v. 4a to denote human frailty and powerlessness.[68] While ἐκ + ἀσθενείας can specify either the reason ('*by reason* of human frailty') or the underlying rule or principle ('*because of* human frailty'),[69] either way, the point is the same: the crucifixion showed up Jesus' essential humanity, and, thus, his mortality.

Jesus, however, did not remain in weakness. Divine power prevailed over human weakness and so ζῇ ἐκ δυνάμεως θεοῦ. This is not Paul's usual way of referring to the resurrection. Yet, it is an undeniable reference to it—or, perhaps better stated, a consequence of it. The present tense emphasizes continuing life:'he is now living by the power of God'.[70] Central to the kerygma is not merely the fact of Jesus' resurrection but his current status as the 'risen Christ' who lives by God's power. A more developed expression of this same idea appears in Rom. 1.3-4, which by all accounts is traditionally based: περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ κατὰ σάρκα, τοῦ ὁρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.

68. See, H.-G. Link, 'ἀσθένεια', *NIDNTT*, III, p. 993.

69. See *BAGD* 3f and 3i; N. Turner, *Syntax*, in J.H. Moulton (ed.), *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1976), IV, p. 260.

70. See Martin, *2 Corinthians*, p. 475.

Paul spells out the theological implications of Jesus' death and resurrection in the second half of v. 4: καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἀσθενοῦμεν ἐν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ ζήσομεν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ δυνάμεως θεοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς. As Christ, so the apostle. Paul places the pronoun ἡμεῖς in an emphatic position and shifts to the first plural thereby broadening the thought to include his associates ('*we* are weak'). He undoubtedly is referring to the frailty and hardship that typify the life of the itinerant preacher (11.23-27). His rivals thought otherwise—as did some of the Corinthians (11.5; 13.3). But just as many were mistaken about Jesus, so they were mistaken about the lot of the apostle. Even so, his opponents were right on one point. There is a very real power at the disposal of the gospel preacher as a consequence of Christ's resurrection. ζήσομεν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ δυνάμεως θεοῦ has an eschatological ring to it. But εἰς ὑμᾶς snaps us back into the present order of things: 'We will live with him by God's power *in our dealings with you*'.[71] The same power that raised Jesus from the dead and sustains his life even now, is the power that the gospel minister has at their disposal in serving Christ's church.

d. *Paul's Missionary Proclamation*

The essence of the message that Paul proclaimed at Corinth is set forth in 2 Cor. 5.19a-b: ὡς ὅτι θεὸς ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ κόσμον καταλλάσσων ἑαυτῷ, μὴ λογιζόμενος αὐτοῖς τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν. Does the formulation stem from Paul or is it pre-Pauline in origin? Ernst Käsemann argues that v. 19 is part of a pre-Pauline hymnic fragment from the doxological tradition of the Hellenistic community, which in its original form emphasized cosmic reconciliation and peace.[72] The language of τὸν λόγον τῆς καταλλαγῆς (v. 19c) and ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ οὖν πρεσβεύομεν (v. 20) points, however, to a kergymatic, not hymnic, provenance. The additional question of whether the material is pre-Pauline or Pauline merits further discussion. I.H. Marshall maintains that the language of reconciliation originates with Paul himself, rather than with church tradition—and with some justification.[73] The verb

71. In light of Paul's warning in 13.2 that on his next visit he will not spare those who sinned earlier or any of the others, εἰς ὑμᾶς in v. 4 is best translated 'toward you' or 'in our dealings with you'.

72. E. Käsemann, 'Some Thoughts', pp. 51-56; cf. Rom. 5.11; Col. 1.20; Eph. 2.16.

73. I.H. Marshall, *Jesus the Saviour: Studies in New Testament Theology* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 1990), p. 273.

καταλλάσσω appears six times (Rom. 5.10 [2×]; 1 Cor. 7.11; 2 Cor. 5.18, 19, 20) and the noun καταλλαγή four times (Rom. 5.11; 11.15; 2 Cor. 5.18, 19) in the Pauline writings but nowhere else in the New Testament. Equally significant is the relative infrequency of verbal and nominal forms in the Septuagint (καταλλάσσω, Jer. 31[48].39; 2 Macc. 1.5; 7.33; 8.29; καταλλαγή, Isa. 9.5[4]; 2 Macc. 5.20) and in Hellenistic Judaism.[74] This indicates that the New Testament language of reconciliation is essentially Pauline in origin. Also characteristic of Paul is the periphrastic construction with the imperfect of εἰμί (Gal. 1.22, 23; 2.11; Phil. 2.26; Eph. 2.12; Tit. 3.3) and the term παραπτώματα which occurs sixteen times in Paul but elsewhere in the New Testament only five times.

There is every indication, therefore, that the content of v. 19a-b is Pauline.[75] A number of factors would suggest, however, that this material pre-dates 2 Corinthians.[76] Verse 19a-b is introduced by what appears to be a citation formula (ὡς ὅτι, 'as it is said'; cf. 2 Thess. 2.2 ὡς ὅτι = 'purporting that').[77] Moreover, the formulation of v. 19a-b is linear in aspect (ἦν καταλλάσσων, μὴ λογιζόμενος), as opposed to the punctiliar aorists of the flanking clauses (καταλλάξαντος, δόντος, θέμενος [vv. 18, 19c]), and the kerygmatic statements are framed in third person, rather than the first person plural that is characteristic of the immediate context. There is also evidence that the biblical ideas pre-date Paul. For one, although καταλλαγή occurs only a few times in the

74. See H.M.F. Büchsel, 'καταλλάσσω', *TDNT*, I, p. 254 and Bacon, 'Gospel'. pp. 40-42.

75. See, however, R.P. Martin, who argues that v. 19 is a piece of soteriological credo, expressing in summary form what the first Christians believed about God's redemptive work in Christ (*Reconciliation*, pp. 93-96).

76. S. Kim would argue that the notion of God reconciling a rebellious mankind to himself finds it source in Paul's experience of reconciliation on the road to Damascus (*Paul's Gospel*, p. 20). While Paul's theology of reconciliation may not have arisen full blown from his experience, it is certainly credible to think that the seeds for such a theology were sown at this point.

77. It is difficult to determine the force of ὡς ὅτι with precision because it only appears three times in Paul's letters (2 Cor. 5.19; 11.21; 2 Thess. 2.2). In 2 Cor. 11.21 it is explicative ('how that'), while in 2 Thess. 2.2 it is recitative ('saying that'; BDF §396). The Vulgate has *quoniam quidem* ('seeing that') but few today follow its lead. N. Turner takes it as explicative ('to the effect that', *Syntax*, p. 137; cf. BDF §396; Hughes, *Corinthians*, p. 207 n. 45), while Furnish treats it as recitative, ('as it is said:'; *Corinthians*, p. 318). For further discussion, see T. Muraoka, 'The Use of ΩΣ in the Greek Bible', *NovT* 7 (1964), pp. 51-72; especially p. 65.

Septuagint, the notion of reconciliation is by no means an unfamiliar one. It is at the heart of the Old Testament sacrificial system, where the guilt and sin offerings serve as God's provision for dealing with the divine-human enmity and alienation that results from sin.[78] Reconciliation is also central to Jesus' teaching. God is the shepherd who searches for the lost sheep (Mt. 18.12-14; Lk. 15.1-7), the woman who sweeps for her lost coin (Lk. 15.8-10) and the man who goes out to the roads and country lanes and compels the people to come to his banquet (Lk. 14.23-24; cf Mt. 22.9-10). Secondly, λογιζομαι ('to reckon', 'to think out') occurs some 120 times in the Septuagint, where it is typically used, as here, of reckoning legal (e.g., Gen. 15.6; 2 Kgdms 19.19) and cultic (e.g., Lev. 7.18; 17.4) guilt or righteousness.[79] Thirdly, παράπτωμα is a familiar term in the Septuagint, occurring eighteen times and translating words expressing the idea found here of conscious and deliberate sinning against God.[80] So, the likelihood is that Paul is utilizing his own pre-Corinthian material—perhaps citing a well-known kerygmatic formulation that he typically preached in Gentile contexts like Corinth, based on theological ideas that would be familiar ones within Hellenistic Judaism.[81]

Verse 19 contains two key kerygmatic statements: (1) God was reconciling the world to himself ἐν Χριστῷ (v. 19a) and (2) the basis of reconciliation was the non-crediting of trespasses to humanity's account (v. 19b). The syntax of v. 19a is ambiguous. The text can read, 'God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself' (ἦν and καταλλάσσων treated as two separate verbal ideas + local ἐν Χριστῷ) or 'God was reconciling the world to himself through Christ' (ἦν + καταλλάσσων = periphrastic construction + instrumental ἐν Χριστῷ). The former would be a statement about the Incarnation. It was because God in all his fulness had chosen to dwell in Christ that reconciliation was

78. For discussion, see Thyen, *Studien*, pp. 16-49; Lyonnet and Sabourin, *Sin, Redemption, and Sacrifice*, pp. 248-49.

79. See, J. Eichler, 'λογίζομαι', *NIDNTT*, III, p. 823.

80. See W. Bauder, 'παράπτωμα', *NIDNTT*, III, p. 585-86.

81. The terminology and ideas of v. 19 would, at least in principle, also be familiar to a Graeco-Roman audience. For example, καταλλάσσω in Greek social and political spheres denoted a change in relations between individuals, groups, or nations, while in the religious arena it was used of a change in relationship between gods and humans. λογίζομαι in the Graeco-Roman world of commerce referred to calculating the amount of a debt. And παράπτωμα was a familiar term in Hellenistic Greek for a false step, slip, or blunder. See below.

accomplished.[82] The word order, in fact, supports this construal (θεὸς ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ), as does the verbal symmetry between the three participles in v. 19 (καταλλάσσων—μὴ λογιζόμενος—θέμενος). The latter reading, however, provides the better fit with the soteriological focus of vv. 14-21. God used Christ's life of obedience, which culminated in his death on the cross, to effect the reconciliation of the world to himself.[83] It is unlikely that Paul would be articulating something substantially different from v. 18, where the idea is clearly a redemptive one (τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ καταλλάξαντος ἡμᾶς ἑαυτῷ διὰ Χριστοῦ). Moreover, the verbal symmetry between τοῦ καταλλάξαντος ἡμᾶς ἑαυτῷ διὰ Χριστοῦ (v. 18) and ἐν Χριστῷ κόσμον καταλλάσσων ἑαυτῷ (v. 19) would almost demand that διὰ Χριστοῦ and ἐν Χριστῷ be treated in the same way.

The second kerygmatic statement provides the grounds for reconciliation. Reconciliation occurs because God does μὴ λογιζόμενος αὐτοῖς τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν. The key term is λογίζομαι. In the world of commerce it referred to calculating the amount of a debt.[84] Applied theologically, it means that God does not post debts to a person's account that should rightfully be theirs. The debts in view are παραπτώματα, a term that in Hellenistic Greek has to do with a false step, slip, or blunder.[85] To the Greek, παραπτώματα are mistakes that result from ignorance, while to the Jew, they are deliberate actions committed knowingly against God (e.g., Ps. 18.12; Job 36.9; Ezek. 14.11).[86] Paul's use of the term reflects the latter meaning. Παραπτώματα are deliberate actions that disrupt a person's relationship to God (cf. Rom. 4.25; 5.18; Eph. 1.7).[87] What would be a positive restatement of the clause? Some say that μὴ λογιζόμενος αὐτοῖς τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν corresponds to ἀφιέναι τὰς ἁμαρτίας.[88] Others maintain that

82. M.J. Harris, 'Prepositions and Theology in the Greek New Testament', *NIDNTT*, III, p. 1193; Allo, *Seconde épître*, p. 170; Collange, *Enigmes*, pp. 270-72.

83. See, e.g., Whiteley, *Theology*, p. 70; Bultmann, *Second Letter*, p. 161; R.V.G. Tasker, *The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1958), p. 89; Barrett, *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, p. 177; Bruce, *I and II Corinthians*, p. 209; Plummer, *Second Epistle*, p. 183.

84. See, H.W. Heidland, 'λογίζομαι', *TDNT*, IV, pp. 284-85.

85. LSJ, *s.v.*

86. See, W. Bauder, 'παράπτωμα', *NIDNTT*, III, pp. 585-86.

87. See, W. Michaelis, 'παράπτωμα', *TDNT*, VI, p. 172.

88. E.g., Bultmann, *Second Letter to the Corinthians*, p. 162; Thrall, 'Salvation Proclaimed', pp. 229-30.

the phrase is equivalent to the imputing of righteousness.[89] Both, perhaps, push the clause too far, theologically. Yet, George Ladd is surely correct in saying that Paul's statement points to the objective character of reconciliation.[90] It was while we were yet sinners with debts credited to our account that reconciliation was accomplished (Rom. 5.8). The cancellation of debts occurred ἐν Χριστῷ ('through Christ'). This makes reconciliation something objectively accomplished for, not in, the individual.[91]

What, then, are the soteriological implications of v. 19a-b? First, God is the initiator, not the recipient, of reconciliation. θεός is emphatic in v. 19a: '*God* was reconciling the world to himself'. This is distinct from Greek religious thinking, where καταλλάσσω refers exclusively to the efforts of the human being to restore the gods' goodwill (e.g., Sophocles, *Ajax* 744).[92] God as the initiator of reconciliation is also distinct from Hellenistic Judaism. For example, in 2 Maccabees, where the language of reconciliation bears a theological significance, the picture is of a God who is angry at Israel's sins for a little while, but will again be reconciled to them as they make common supplication to him (2 Macc. 5.20; 7.33; 8.29). Indeed the reader is instructed to pray to God so that 'he may hear your prayers and be reconciled to you' (2 Macc. 1.5). A similar theology of reconciliation is found in Josephus, where God's wrath is so kindled against Saul for disobeying his commands that he refuses to be reconciled to Saul, even when Samuel intercedes on Saul's behalf (*Ant.* 6.141-151). God is likewise the object, and not the subject, of reconciliation in rabbinic Judaism. In the rabbinic materials, רצה, the Aramaic equivalent of καταλλάσσω, is used of the prayers and sacrifices that 'appease', 'reconcile' and 'make' God 'pleased' with his people (e.g., *Yal.* Lev. 1c; *Pesiq. R.* 16b; *Sipre* Deut. 32).[93] By contrast, in 2 Cor. 5.19, God is one who seeks reconciliation with humankind, and not humankind with God.[94]

89. E.g., Barrett, *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, p. 177.

90. Ladd, *Theology*, p. 453.

91. Bultmann, *Theology*, p. 286; Ladd, *Theology*, pp. 451-52, Martin, *Reconciliation*, p. 104.

92. See, H. Vorländer, 'καταλλάσσω', *NIDNTT*, III, p. 166.

93. For discussion, see Büchsel, 'καταλλάσσω', *TDNT*, I, p. 254.

94. As M. Thrall observes, this is not to say that the individual has no part to play in the process of reconciliation ('Salvation Proclaimed', p. 228). But Paul's emphasis in 2 Cor. 5.19 is on the divine initiative. Moreover, the individual's role is limited to that of a subjective response to a reconciliation that has been objectively

Secondly, the object of God's reconciling efforts is identified in v. 18 as τὰ πάντα and in v. 19a as κόσμον. Some have argued from the terminology that Paul's concept of reconciliation is universal in scope. For example, Leonhard Goppelt maintains that whereas justification is a legally binding status between God and man, reconciliation encompasses its cosmic breadth.[95] Others have gone even further to say that κόσμον includes hostile and demonic forces.[96] To be sure, there is a wider scope to reconciliation than mere humanity in Paul's theology. In Rom. 8.19, for instance, he states that creation itself will be liberated from its bondage to decay and brought into the glorious freedom of the children of God. Also, in Col. 1.20 God was pleased to reconcile to himself all things 'whether things on earth or things in heaven'. But in the context of 2 Cor. 5.16-21 it is the world of human beings, not the cosmos that is in view.[97] The pronouns are personal, not universal. It is 'their' trespasses that are not reckoned against 'them' (v. 19b). Then too, the two other instances where κόσμος occurs in the letter refer to the world of human beings, not to the cosmos (2 Cor. 1.12; 7.10).

Thirdly, those in need of reconciliation are human beings at enmity with God. It was 'while we were God's enemies' and 'alienated from' him that we 'were reconciled to him through the death of his Son' (Rom. 5.10-11; Col. 1.22). This state of enmity is due to a 'sinful mind that is hostile to God' and 'does not submit to God's law' (Rom. 8.7). This is not to say that enmity does not exist on God's side. The concept of divine wrath is clearly present in Paul's letters.[98] 'The wrath of God revealed from heaven against all godlessness and wickedness' is a keynote of Paul's letter to the Romans (1.18; 2.5; 3.5; 4.15; 5.9; 9.22; 12.19; cf. 1 Thess. 1.10; 5.9; Eph. 5.6; Col. 3.6). But God, unlike sinful humanity, is not given to temperamentality, fits of rage or retaliation. Divine anger in the NT is a controlled response of a holy being to the sinful actions of humanity.[99] God's is an objectively based wrath. This is

procured through Christ's work on the cross. This is clear from Paul's use of the passive καταλλάγητε θεῷ in v. 20.

95. Goppelt, *Theology*, p. 139. See also, Fitzmyer, *Theology*, p. 63; Hughes, *Corinthians*, pp. 208-209; Collange, *Enigmes*, p. 272.

96. See, e.g., Héring, *2 Corinthians*, p. 44; Barrett, *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, p. 177.

97. For discussion, see Ladd, *Theology*, p. 398; Furnish, *II Corinthians*, p. 336; Marshall, *Jesus the Saviour*, p. 264; Whiteley, *Theology*, p. 273.

98. For discussion, see Whiteley, *Theology*, p. 70; Kümmel, *Theology*, p. 204.

99. See L.L. Belleville, 'Enemy', in G.F. Hawthorne, R.P. Martin and

evident from the fact that not even his chosen people can escape from becoming 'objects of God's wrath' when they sin (Rom. 9.22). God's is also an objective reconciliation. An important soteriological implication of 2 Cor. 5.19 is that God has dealt with the sins that aroused his wrath so that there is no barrier on his side to the establishment of peace and friendly relations.[100] Reconciliation, then, becomes a gift of God, preceding and independent of any effort on man's part.[101]

Fourthly, reconciliation occurs ἐν Χριστῷ. The periphrastic imperfect ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ καταλλάσσων is significant. It stresses the durative and continuous character of God's action through Christ: 'God was in process of reconciling the world to himself through Christ'. This would suggest that Paul is viewing the whole of Jesus' life and ministry, and not merely his death, as the means by which reconciliation with a humanity at enmity with himself was accomplished. Nor would this be unique to this passage. That Jesus' life possessed redemptive value is an idea that is present elsewhere in Paul's letters. Christ came 'under the Law to redeem those under the Law' (Gal. 4.4-5). And it is through his obedience that many will be made righteous (Rom. 5.18-19).[102]

3. *Conclusions*

Paul's dependence on the kerygma is quite evident in 2 Corinthians. The term Ἰησοῦς is used in such a way that implies knowledge of the common core of traditions surrounding the life of Christ (e.g., 11.4). Moreover, the phrase τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ is employed four times without further explanation (2.12; 4.4; 9.13; 10.14). Then too, traditional materials are introduced in a matter-of-fact way that shows a familiarity of author and readers alike with Jesus' life and ministry. Jesus was 'gentle and forbearing' (10.1). His earthly life was marked by 'poverty' (8.9). His ministry was characterized by such hardship and distress that it could be called 'the dying of Jesus' (4.10). In the end he died like every human being because he was frail and mortal (ἐξ ἀσθενείας 13.4) and he was raised from the dead by God's power (ζῇ ἐκ δυνάμεως θεοῦ, 13.4).

D.G. Reid (eds.), *Dictionary of Paul and his Letters* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 1993), p. 237.

100. Marshall, *Jesus the Saviour*, p. 264.

101. Bultmann, *Theology*, p. 286; Ladd, *Theology*, p. 452.

102. R.N. Longenecker, *Paul, Apostle of Liberty* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1964), pp. 147-53.

The theological implications of Jesus' life and ministry are also presented as indisputable fact, indicative that such interpretation at this stage was intrinsic to the kerygma and not distinctive to Paul. Jesus is the 'Christ' (2.12; 4.4; 9.13; 10.14), 'Son of God' (1.19) and 'Lord' (1.14; 4.5). Especially to be noted are the four pre-Pauline theological convictions implicit in the three kerygmatic fragments that Paul cites in 2 Cor. 8.9; 5.14; and 5.21. First, Christ's pre-existence is implicit in the phrase πλούσιος ὤν (8.9). He had experienced the riches of heavenly existence with God prior to identifying with the human condition. Secondly, Jesus' solidarity with the human race is presumed in all three texts. Jesus so closely identified with the human condition that their plight became his plight (δι' ὑμᾶς ἐπτώχευσεν, 8.9), their sin became his sin (ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν 5.21) and their death became his death (εἷς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν ἄρα οἱ πάντες ἀπέθανον, 5.14). Thirdly, despite his solidarity with the human condition, Jesus led a sinless life (τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν; 5.21). At no point during his earthly ministry did he possess knowledge of sin that comes through personal experience. Fourthly, Jesus' death had atoning significance. An assessment of the facts surrounding his death led the early church to the conviction that εἷς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν (5.14) and ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν (5.21).

Yet, while Paul evidences clear dependence on the kerygma, he nonetheless shapes and molds it to a particular end. Four distinctive contributions can be seen in Paul's handling of traditional materials: (1) His use of kerygmatic materials to advance the argument of the letter, (2) his application of kerygma to the Christian life, (3) his stress on exchange, and (4) his emphasis on the redemptive value not merely of Jesus' death but also of Jesus' life.

1. Biographical details and theological convictions serve the polemic of 2 Corinthians. Jesus' 'gentleness and forbearance' (10.1) and his life typified by hardship and distress (4.10) provide a paradigm for the true gospel preacher. It is Paul, and not his rivals, who always carries around the dying of Jesus so that the life of Jesus may be revealed (4.10). Moreover, it is the generosity of Christ as evidenced in the incarnation that provides the standard by which Paul gauges the Corinthians' sincerity toward fellow believers (8.1-9). 'For' the Corinthians 'know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, yet he became poor so that through his poverty we might become rich' (8.9).

2. Paul is also distinctive in how he applies the kerygma to the Christian life. To proclaim 'Jesus' as 'Lord' is to define the Christian life in terms of 'service' (4.5) to the one who not only died but rose again (5.15) and now lives by the power of God as Lord of the church (13.4). The creedal formula καὶ ἐγερθέντι in 2 Corinthians is tantamount to a profession of Christ's Lordship and the believer's servanthood (5.15). This is especially the case for the gospel preacher who must appear before the judgment seat of Christ (5.10) on 'the day of our Lord Jesus' (1.14) to give an account of his/her labours. So, it is the prospect of a resurrection to judgment that motivates Paul to preach the gospel (4.14; cf. 5.15; 13.4).

3. Jesus' solidarity with the human race is transformed in 2 Corinthians by means of three stark contrasts into a theology of exchange. The traditional wording 'Christ died for our sins' becomes '*one died* for all so that *all* might *live* for him who died...' (5.14). 'God sent his Son in the likeness of sinful flesh' (Rom. 8.3) becomes '*Christ* became *poor* that *we* might become *rich*' (8.9). And 'he bore our sins' (1 Pet. 2.24) becomes '*he* was *made sin* for us so that in him *we* might *become the righteousness of God*' (5.21).

4. Jesus' life becomes the locus of God's redemptive activity in 2 Corinthians. This is Paul's main contribution to gospel as kerygma in this letter. Christ's earthly ministry becomes 'the dying of Jesus', thereby investing the incarnation and not just the crucifixion with redemptive value. In fact, one can go so far as to say that the crucifixion possesses no intrinsic redemptive value apart from Jesus' life. For, Jesus' ability to deal with the human condition at death rests on a demonstrated sinlessness during his life (5.21). Jesus' life, in turn, takes its significance from the sacrificial act of the pre-existent Son of God laying aside his heavenly mode of existence to identify with the human condition (8.9).

Did Paul mold the kerygma to such an extent that we can legitimately speak of a Pauline gospel ('my gospel', 4.3; 11.4)? 2 Corinthians 5.19a-b, which provides a summary statement of his message, would suggest so. Distinctive to this message is God as initiator of an objectively wrought reconciliation and Christ as the medium through which God worked to effect it. While it has been common in Pauline studies to see 'Christ crucified' as the heart of Paul's gospel, θεὸς ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ καταλλάσσων shows that it was the whole of Jesus' life and ministry, and not merely his death, that was the locus of God's redemptive work.

Part II
GOSPEL IN GALATIANS

'THE GOSPEL THAT I PROCLAIM AMONG THE GENTILES' (GAL. 2.2): UNIVERSALISTIC OR ISRAEL-CENTRED?

Terence L. Donaldson

1. *Paul's Gospel: Universalistic or Israel-Centred?*

Paul's epistle to the Galatians represents his attempt, in a specific set of circumstances, to defend what he calls 'the gospel that I proclaim among the Gentiles' (Gal. 2.2).[1] The circumstances are determined in large measure by the arrival in the Galatian churches of certain advocates of Gentile circumcision. Correspondingly, the defence is characterized in equal measure by the concern to establish the status of Gentile believers with respect to Israel's traditional identifying markers. Circumcision, the law, the covenant with Abraham, the relationship between the believer and Abraham, the relationship between Christ and Abraham, the periods of Israel's sacred history—such are the themes that dominate the rhetoric of the epistle, resulting in a surprisingly Israel-centred framework for an ostensibly Gentile-oriented gospel.

But how indicative is this of the original preaching itself? How closely does this situationally-produced framework correspond to the way in which Paul typically proclaimed his gospel among the Gentiles in the first instance? Did he, for example, tell his Gentile hearers that if they accepted his message about Christ they would thereby become sons and heirs of Abraham (3.7, 29)? Was Christ's death presented as a way of dealing with the curse of the law, bringing the period of the law's activity to an end (3.13, 23-25)? Did he—to bring related themes from

1. It is with a mixture of delight and diffidence that I offer this paper in tribute to Richard N. Longenecker on his sixty-fifth birthday. Diffidence, because in writing on Galatians, I am venturing into territory that he has made very much his own. But delight, because I am happy to be able to acknowledge my indebtedness to him for all that I learned while doing doctoral work under his supervision.

Romans into the discussion—inform interested Gentiles that by responding in faith they would be grafted into the stock of Israel, a grafting somehow made possible by the removal of unbelieving Jewish 'branches' (Rom. 11.13-24)?

While these questions by no means exhaust what Galatians and Romans have to say about Jews, Gentiles and the gospel, they nevertheless illustrate vividly the Jewish framework within which Paul defends and explains his Gentile mission in these two epistles. The 'gospel proclaimed to the Gentiles' creates a body of believers whose situation, status and identity is at every turn described with reference to the community of 'Israel'. If Romans and Galatians were all we had to go on, we could easily and understandably draw the conclusion that the actual message proclaimed to the Gentiles was also framed in these Israel-centred terms. When we turn to the other epistles, however, the situation changes dramatically. While the Israel-centred framework never falls away entirely, the gospel is more typically presented in universalistic terms, with Christ as a universal saviour and Lord whose death and resurrection is relevant to all humankind directly and without distinction.

The one place where Paul provides us with a substantial summary of his gospel preaching—1 Corinthians 15—provides us with an instructive example. The summary, referred to no less than four times as the message first proclaimed by Paul to the Corinthians (15.1, 2, 3, 11), appears in vv. 3-8, its significance for the Corinthian situation being drawn out in the remainder of the chapter. Two constituent elements of the summary might have served as anchor points for the kind of Israel-centred framework described above—namely the term 'Christ' (v. 3), and the phrase 'in accordance with the scriptures' (vv. 3, 4). But these remain latent at best. Χριστός, anarthrous here and in most of its appearances in ch. 15, functions simply as a proper name, with no apparent recognition of its origin as a title for the anointed deliverer of Israel. The few appeals to scripture in the argument of the chapter (vv. 27, 32, 45, 54) could be described as largely ornamental; in any case, they give no indication that the 'scripture' being appealed to was fundamentally linked to a social entity—Israel—whose existence past and present might be linked in some significant way to the message of 'Christ' died and risen. Instead, the group for whose sins Christ died is an undifferentiated collectivity embracing both the Jew Paul and his Gentile converts (ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν *ἡμῶν*, v. 3). In what follows, Christ and his community are defined not in the ethnically-specific terms

of Abraham and the people of Israel, as in Romans and Galatians, but in the universal terms of Adam and his whole human progeny: 'for as all die in Adam, so all will be made alive in Christ' (v. 22); 'just as we have borne the image of the man of dust, we will also bear the image of the man of heaven' (v. 49; note again the first person plurals). The gospel of Christ's death and resurrection is here formulated in universal terms, with the categories of Israel and the nations seeming to play no essential or significant part.

To this point I have been painting with a broad brush and primary colours. For a more nuanced portrayal, it will be necessary to recognize that universal themes are by no means absent in Romans and Galatians: witness the developed Adam–Christ parallel of Rom. 5.12-21, or the 'neither Jew nor Greek' declaration of Gal. 3.28. Likewise, Israel-centred concerns are not unknown in 1 Corinthians: even in ch. 15 we can encounter a statement such as that of v. 56 ('The sting of death is sin, and the power of sin is the law'), truly a Roman thunderbolt in a Corinthian sky! Nevertheless, the painting is even at this stage well enough advanced that the question to be addressed here is visible on the canvas. In his evangelistic preaching and early instruction of new converts, what did Paul have to say about the relationships of Gentile Christians—to Jewish Christians; to Jesus as the Messiah of Israel; to Abraham; to the Israel of the scriptures? To put it more concisely, what did he convey to his Gentile converts concerning their status vis-à-vis 'Israel'? The question then is historical rather than conceptual, having to do with Paul's activity rather than his thought, with the terms in which he presented the gospel to the Gentiles rather than the theological framework within which he carried out his Gentile mission. Paul's own conceptions, of course, cannot be left out of account (of which more in a moment); but this is not the central thrust of the question.

The question, of course, is a significant one: Paul's success in 'proclaiming the gospel among the Gentiles' did much to shape the course of emergent Christianity and is central to his historical legacy. The question is also, at least in some sense, an old one, having been asked in one way or another since Baur and Bousset. But at the same time it is a perennial one, needing to be asked again with each shift of opinion and in each new generation of Pauline scholarship. In view of the dramatic shifts that have recently taken place in Pauline interpretation—especially with respect to the place of Jews, Gentiles and Israel in

his convictional world[2]—it is a question that deserves to be addressed again. While recent scholarship has had a lot to say about the shape of Paul's own convictional world, not much attention has been paid to the shape of his proclamation.[3]

At the same time, though, owing to the nature of our sources, it is a question much easier to ask than to answer. The occasional nature of the letters means that we have only a little by way of direct reference to the original preaching, and then only in passing. The evidence for the most part is inferential, arising from things taken for granted, from the course of later developments, and so on. Also resulting from the occasional nature of the letters is the fact that the evidence we have is embedded in situationally-conditioned and often highly charged writings, whose rhetorical purposes shape and colour everything contained therein. 1 Cor. 15.3-8 is not necessarily a 'neutral' recitation of the kerygma, for example; the fact that four-fifths of the passage pertains directly to the resurrection is surely not unrelated to the rhetorical purposes of the chapter as a whole. The letters function not as clear windows into the historical situations lying behind them, but rather as filters, transmitting some bits of information while blocking out others, and as lenses, magnifying those things in the focal centre while blurring other things on the periphery.

Finally, the question is difficult because it very quickly leads into a number of controverted issues that have a bearing on the way the evidence is assessed. Did Paul, for example, preach to Jews as well as Gentiles?[4] Were the spheres of mission referred to in the agreement of

2. See my paper, '"Riches for the Gentiles" (Rom. 11.12): Israel's Rejection and Paul's Gentile Mission', *JBL* 112 (1993), pp. 81-98, esp. pp. 81-82.

3. Jervell touches on the issue in his discussion of Paul in Acts: 'We have to come to terms with the fact that we possess only fragments of Paul. Vanished almost completely is, for example, the Pauline missionary preaching'. See J. Jervell, *The Unknown Paul: Essays on Luke–Acts and Early Christian History* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984), p. 53. Keck divides his introduction to Paul's letters into two main sections: 'The Gospel Paul Preached', and 'What Paul Fought For'; see L.E. Keck, *Paul and his Letters* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 2nd edn, 1988). The first section, though, has to do with the basic convictions underlying the situational rhetoric of the letters, rather than the substance of the preaching itself.

4. *No*: e.g. E.P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), pp. 179-85; W.A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1983), p. 26. *Yes*: e.g. H. Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), p.160;

Gal. 2.1-10 to be determined on an ethnic basis, or a geographical one?[5] Was Χριστός a title for Paul, or just a name?[6] What was Paul's own perception of the Gentile mission, and the way it related to 'Israel'?

It is not possible to address these issues in any direct and detailed way here. I will be approaching the question in a more narrowly circumscribed manner, to be described momentarily. But before moving on, some comment should be made concerning the last mentioned issue—that of Paul's own perception—since it has shaped the context in which this paper is being written.

In older treatments of Paul, the tendency was to assume that his concern for the Gentiles resulted from and was characterized by a basic *rejection of Jewish particularism.* That is, Paul's Gentile mission represented an abandonment—or perhaps a transcending—of a conceptual world in which the distinction between Jew and Gentile was fundamental, in favour of a world in which 'there is no distinction between Jew and Greek' (cf. Rom. 10.12) since the one God is God of all (cf. Rom. 3.29-30). Usually this new universalism is seen as stemming from the dethroning of the law,[7] though others explain it in terms of christology (the universal lordship of Christ)[8] or of a failed initial mission to Jews.[9] Romans 9–11, with its concern for the eventual salvation of

P. Fredriksen, 'Judaism, the Circumcision of Gentiles, and Apocalyptic Hope: Another Look at Galatians 1 and 2', *JTS* 42 (1991), p. 563 n. 78.

5. *Geographical*: e.g. E.D. Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1921), pp. 97-98; P. Vielhauer, 'On the "Paulinism" of Acts', in L.E. Keck and J.L. Martyn (eds.), *Studies in Luke–Acts* (Nashville/New York: Abingdon, 1966), p. 38. *Ethnic*: e.g. Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, p. 181; H.D. Betz, *Galatians* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), p. 100.

6. Certainly Paul knows the title, and can apply it to Jesus (Rom. 9.5). The question has to do with the presence of the titular sense where it is not explicitly indicated by the context. The majority view is that the term functions primarily as a name in Paul's usage: see, e.g., J.D.G. Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1977), p. 43; R.H. Fuller, *The Foundations of New Testament Christology* (London: Lutterworth, 1965), p. 230. For the contrary view, see e.g. N.T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), pp. 41-55; M. Barth, *Ephesians 1–3* (AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1974), p. 66.

7. See, e.g., L. Cerfaux, *The Christian in the Theology of St Paul* (New York: Herder & Herder, 1967), p. 69.

8. E.g. F. Hahn, *Mission in the New Testament* (Naperville: Allenson, 1965), p. 100.

9. E.g. J. Klausner, *From Jesus to Paul* (New York: Macmillan, 1943),

ethnic Israel and its declaration of the abiding significance of Israel's election, was often viewed in such readings of Paul to represent an aberration, a reversion to a pattern of thought which he had fundamentally abandoned.[10]

In newer readings of Paul, though—part of the interpretative shift mentioned above—Romans 9–11 tends to be seen instead as a prime point of entry into his fundamental convictions. Corresponding to this is an increasing tendency to see his concern for the Gentiles not as a rejection of Jewish particularlism but as a *revision of Jewish universalism*. Despite the particularism inherent in its covenantal self-understanding, Judaism in the first century had developed several 'patterns of universalism', that is, several ways in which Gentiles could be included within the sphere of God's purposes without in any way dissolving the fundamental distinctions created by the election of Israel. This is not the place for a full discussion.[11] But increased understanding of this aspect of Judaism has provided a different angle of approach to Paul, in which his Gentile mission is understood as a reinterpretation, in light of his new convictions about Christ, of one or other of the essentially Jewish patterns of Gentile inclusion, whether it be eschatological pilgrimage expectations,[12] the concept of 'righteous Gentiles',[13]or—to mention my own position—of proselytism.[14]

pp. 331-46; E.P. Blair, 'Paul's Call to the Gentile Mission', *BibRes* 10 (1965), pp. 19-33; M.S. Enslin, *Reapproaching Paul* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1972), pp. 63-80.

10. See, e.g., A. von Harnack, *The Date of the Acts and of the Synoptic Gospels* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1911), pp. 45-50; F.W. Beare, *St Paul and his Letters* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1962), p. 97; C.H. Dodd, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1932), p. 183; W.D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* (London: SPCK, 1948), p. 85.

11. E.g., T.L. Donaldson, 'Proselytes or "Righteous Gentiles"? The Status of Gentiles in Eschatological Pilgrimage Patterns of Thought', *JSP* 7 (1990), pp. 3-27.

12. See, e.g., A. Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* (New York: Seabury, 1968 [1931]), pp. 177-79, 182-87; J. Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind* (London: SCM Press, 1959), pp 275-78, 303; P. Stuhlmacher, 'Zur Interpretation von Römer 11.25-32', in H.W. Wolff (ed.), *Probleme biblischer Theologie* (Munich: Kaiser, 1971), pp. 555-70; H.J. Schoeps, *Paul* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961), pp. 219-30; R.B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 71, 162.

13. See, e.g., L. Gaston, *Paul and the Torah* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987).

14. See my 'Riches for the Gentiles'.

The question of Paul's own *perception* of the gospel for the Gentiles needs to be kept distinct from that of his *presentation* of the gospel to the Gentiles. The terms of his message may have been shaped as much by the concerns of his hearers as by his own cognitive world.[15] Nevertheless, awareness of the possible ways of construing Paul's own perceptions provides us with more finely-calibrated tools that can be used in the investigation of his presentation.

The investigation will have as its primary focus the epistle to the Galatians. There are several reasons for choosing Galatians, beyond the simple utilitarian requirement of keeping the discussion within manageable limits. First, the people to whom the epistle is addressed are clearly Gentiles.[16] Further, the epistle is occasioned by precisely the sort of issues under discussion here: the relationship of Gentile believers to Abraham, Israel, the community defined by the law of Moses, and so on. Moreover, there is no evidence that Paul had any substantial contact with the Galatians between the founding of the community and the advent of the rival teachers; anything consciously taken for granted in his argumentation, then, can be assumed to stem from his initial presentation. In sum, Galatians presents us with a promising test case; we should be able to press back through the sequence of events—Paul's response in the letter; the activity of the rival teachers; the founding visit—to discern something of the shape of the original preaching.

To assist with this investigation of the Galatian situation, though, we will draw into the discussion such relevant information concerning the initial preaching as can be recovered from the Pauline corpus as a whole.[17] As mentioned above, the evidence to be considered is of two

15. As a parallel, one might consider the differing ways in which Paul presents the collection project to the Romans and the Corinthians: the Jewish-centred view of Rom. 15.25-27 (the Gentiles are in debt to the Jewish Christians for spiritual blessings received) is totally absent from 2 Corinthians 8–9 (where the appeal is based on the needs of those identified only as 'the saints' [9.12], and on the generosity of Christ [8.9] and of God [9.6-11]).

16. Gal. 2.2, 5 (the 'you' of v. 5 in parallel with the 'Gentiles' of v. 2); 4.8 ('formerly, when you did not know God, you were [idolaters]'); 5.2 and 6.12 (the readers are uncircumcised).

17. The primary letters to be considered are those written to congregations founded by Paul, i.e., excluding Romans and Colossians. To be sure, these epistles are not without evidential value for the question of Paul's initial preaching. Romans is written in part to respond to objections to Paul's Gentile gospel as it was perceived from a Jewish or Jewish Christian standpoint. Colossians, if authentic, was written

kinds: explicit references to founding visits[18] and such implicit evidence as can be inferred from the letters themselves.

The answer to our question will be worked out with reference to two poles that can be clearly discerned. First, the undeniable fact that Paul's gospel in its core substance is universal: Christ died for all without distinction. Secondly, the equally undeniable fact that this message is anchored to a framework derived from Paul's own Jewish self-understanding. We will begin with a consideration of the universal substance.

2. *'Christ Died for All': The Universal Substance of Paul's Gospel*

a. *Universal Elements in Paul's Preaching*

A survey of the corpus as a whole confirms what has already been observed with respect to 1 Corinthians 15: however Paul himself may understand the role of Israel in the coming of the gospel, he is completely capable of presenting the message in universal terms, with Christ as a universal saviour whose saving benefits are directly accessible to an undifferentiated humanity, and with no apparent need to link any of the elements of the story of salvation (Christ, the saving event, the saved community) explicitly to the story of Israel. The passages on which this observation is based are numerous, strewn throughout the letters, and uncontentious (i.e. reflective of shared knowledge, rather than either new information or points under dispute).

To begin with, Paul and his converts share a belief in universal monotheism, that is, that there is one God who created all things and whom all people should worship. In 1 Cor. 8.4-6, laying out the ground he shares with the Corinthians,[19] Paul declares that idols have no real

to a church not founded by Paul himself but considered to fall within his sphere of ministry, and thus may contain some themes basic to his gospel presentation that he desired to introduce or reinforce on the occasion of his first direct communication with them. But to extract pertinent information from these two epistles is a delicate, difficult and uncertain task. While such information is not to be ignored, it is more advisable to rely on the other epistles for foundational evidence.

18. References to founding visits can be found in 1 Cor. 1.14-17; 2.1-4; 3.6; 4.15; 11.2, 23; 15.1-11; 16.15; 2 Cor. 1.19; 10.14; 11.7-9; 12.12-13; Phil. 1.5-6; 4.15-16; 1 Thess. 1.5-9; 2.1-2, 5-13; 3.4; 2 Thess. 2.15; 3.7-10.

19. The declarations in v. 4 appear to be quotations from the Corinthians' letter to Paul, which in turn are based on Paul's own teaching; so, convincingly, J.C. Hurd, *The Origin of 1 Corinthians* (London: SPCK, 1965), pp. 67, 278.

existence and that 'there is one God from whom all things come' (cf. also 1 Cor. 10.26). In 1 Thess. 1.9 he recalls the original response of the Thessalonians to his preaching as a 'turn[ing] to God from idols, to serve a living and true God'. Paul himself believes that this is the same God who called Abraham, gave the law, and entered into a covenant with Israel. But this is not a necessary element in his proclamation; God is the God of all, and Paul's Gentile converts can relate to God directly.

Further, Paul and his converts share a belief in the universal significance of Christ. As we have noted, the kerygmatic summary in 1 Cor. 15.3-8 speaks of Christ's death 'for our sins' (v. 3), 'our' being a general reference to a group containing both Jews (Paul, Cephas, James) and Gentiles (the Corinthians). Later in the chapter, he is still on shared ground when he declares that 'as all die in Adam, so all will be made alive in Christ' (v. 22; cf. Rom. 5.12-21). The universal scope of Christ's saving activity is also to the fore in 2 Corinthians 5: 'we are convinced that one has died for all (ὑπὲρ πάντων); therefore all have died' (v. 14); and 'in Christ, God was reconciling the world (κόσμον) to himself' (v. 19; cf. also Rom. 8.32; 1 Thess. 1.10; 5.9-10). Similarly, Paul can assume that his readers share a belief in the universal lordship of Jesus: the Christ-hymn in Philippians 2, presumably known to the readers, declares that 'every (πᾶσα) tongue' will confess Jesus as Lord (v. 11); 1 Cor. 15.25-28, again spelling out basic information that Paul thinks his converts should know, speaks of 'all things (πάντα)' having been put in subjection under Christ (v. 27). Moving back to the beginning of the cosmic drama, Paul can take as uncontroversial the belief that Christ is the one 'through whom are all things and through whom we exist' (1 Cor. 8.6; cf. Col. 1.16).

Paul himself believes that Christ is Israel's Messiah (Rom. 9.5), that he identified with those 'under the law' (Gal. 4.4-5) and that he somehow had a special role as a 'servant of the circumcised' (Rom. 15.8). But none of this is essential to his presentation of the gospel. While he felt free, for example, to add his own gloss to the hymn quoted in Phil. 2.5-11 (i.e. 'even death on a cross'; v. 8[20]), he felt no need to make it clear that it was a Jewish form in particular rather than simply a human form in general (σχήματι ὡς ἄνθρωπος, v. 7) that Christ assumed. Whatever Christ accomplished and however he accomplished it, the results are

20. Lohmeyer's argument for v. 8b as a Pauline gloss has been widely accepted; see, e.g., Fuller, *Foundations*, pp. 204-207; F.W. Beare, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians* (London: A. & C. Black, 1959), pp. 73-77.

directly beneficial to all. He can present Christ as the saviour and lord of all, with no apparent need to identify the saviour as a Jew or to differentiate between Jew and Gentile in the company of the saved.

Implicit in the preceding discussion about God and Christ is the fact that Paul can present his gospel as a message having to do with humankind in general and as an undifferentiated whole. God as the creator of all, Christ as the lord and saviour of all, human solidarity 'in Adam' and 'in Christ', the reconciliation of the world, the humanity of Christ—all of these themes indicate that Paul's message can be formulated in terms of a generic or universal audience. Several other passages can be drawn in to extend this observation.

First, while Paul certainly conceives of himself as the apostle to the Gentiles (Rom. 11.13; 15.16; Gal. 2.7-9), he can also present his mission in more universal terms. In 2 Cor. 5.11 he uses the generic anthropological term 'people' (ἀνθρώπους) to refer to those who are the object of his ministry of persuasion. In 1 Cor. 9.19 and 22, the operative term for the target of his preaching is 'all' (πᾶς): 'a slave to all, so that I might win more of them'; 'all things to all people, that I might by all means save some'. While this group is admittedly subdivided into those under the law and those outside the law (vv. 20-21), such subdivision is bracketed by the two more universal references. In Col. 1.28, with its thrice repeated 'every person' (πάντα ἄνθρωπον), the two terms are combined: 'it is he whom we proclaim, warning every person and teaching every person in all wisdom, so that we may present every person mature in Christ'.

Second, the fundamental anthropological distinction for Paul in light of the gospel is not that between Jew and Gentile but that between those in Christ and those not: those being saved/those perishing (1 Cor. 1.18; 2 Cor. 2.15); natural (ψυχικός)/spiritual (1 Cor. 2.14-15); unrighteous/saints (1 Cor. 6.1); brother/unbeliever (1 Cor. 6.6); blind/seeing (2 Cor. 4.3-6); those of the night/those of the day (1 Thess. 5.6-8); those who do not know God/those who do (2 Thess. 1.8).

The substance of Paul's gospel, then, was such that it could be presented and heard in universalistic terms—a gospel of the one true God, who had provided a means of salvation for all through the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. How close does this get us, though, to the shape of Paul's initial preaching to Gentiles? Did he allow the Jewish framework to fall away entirely? With respect to our test case of Galatians, the question becomes: Can we account for the Galatian

sequence[21] on the assumption that they were initially converted to a universalistic message such as this?

b. *Universal Gospel in Galatia*?

As has been noted from the outset, a Jewish framework for the gospel is explicit and dominant in the epistle to the Galatians. To be sure, there are places where more universal formulations can be detected. In 1.4, we again encounter the inclusive first person plural: '[Christ] gave himself for *our* sins to set *us* free from the present evil age'.[22] The Galatians' conversion is described as a turning from idolatry to a worship of the one true God (4.8-9). In 2.16 we encounter the generic 'person' (ἄνθρωπος): 'we[23] know that a *person* is justified...'But in order to argue that these provide an accurate reflection of Paul's initial preaching, it would be necessary to demonstrate that the Jewish framework was introduced into the sequence later, either by the rival teachers, or by Paul in the epistle itself. Is such a demonstration possible?

First, is it possible that the Jewish framework emerges late in the sequence, introduced by Paul not in the initial preaching but in his epistle to the Galatians? If the traditional depiction of the rival teachers is valid, this would be quite unlikely. Traditionally Paul's opponents have been seen as Jewish Christians, with a link to the Jerusalem church, whose advocacy of circumcision was explicitly nomistic. That is, they tried to convince the Galatians that only by becoming full members of the Jewish community (through circumcision and law observance) would they be eligible to share in the saving benefits made available by Christ. If this reconstruction holds, then the Jewish framework goes back at least to the advent of the rival teachers.

But more recent discussion[24] has drawn attention to several elements

21. By 'Galatian sequence' I mean the sequence of events referred to above: Paul's initial preaching and founding of the churches in Galatia; the advent of the rival teachers; the subsequent response of the Galatians to the new teaching; Paul's reaction in the epistle itself.

22. Paul is probably citing an early Jewish Christian formulation here (see, e.g., Betz, *Galatians*, pp. 42-43); in this original setting, then, the pronouns would have referred to Jews or Jewish Christians. But in their present context, they clearly refer to an inclusive group of Jews (Paul at least) and Gentiles.

23. In this case, the first person plural is not inclusive; in 2.15-17 (and perhaps 3.13, 23-25) the term refers to Jewish Christians in contrast to Gentile Christians.

24. A good survey can be found in R.N. Longenecker, *Galatians* (WBC; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1990), pp. lxxxix-c; see also R. Jewett, 'The Agitators and the

in Galatians that stubbornly resist explanation along these lines. In 5.3 Paul warns the Galatians that circumcision is not an isolated thing, but brings with it the requirement 'to obey the entire law'. The fact that he assumes that this will help his case suggests strongly that the rival teachers were downplaying the connection, or even treating circumcision as an isolated thing. Further, in 6.13 he describes the rival teachers quite curiously as οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι—the same construction as is used in 5.3 to describe those who are submitting to circumcision (περιτεμνομένῳ)—and as people who 'do not themselves keep the law'. Finally, the fact that Paul feels it necessary to warn the Galatians at length about abuses of spiritual freedom (5.13–6.10) has led many to suspect the presence of pneumatic libertinism in Galatia.

These aspects of the epistle have precipitated a number of alternative reconstructions of the Galatian situation. Some scholars have focused on the Galatians themselves, arguing for the presence of two different groups, one being drawn to Judaism, the other characterized by libertine enthusiasm.[25] Such a two-front approach to Galatians has not won much of a following, though, since Galatians seems throughout to be addressed to a single undifferentiated audience. Other reconstructions have dealt with the rival teachers themselves. Some have attempted to dissociate the teachers from nomistic Judaism entirely, seeing them as Judaizing Gentiles,[26] or as syncretistic[27] or gnosticizing[28] Christian Jews. These reconstructions deserve more discussion than can realistically be carried out here. But for various and compelling reasons—the features of Galatians that led to the traditional reading in the first place;[29] the absence of any evidence of syncretistic or gnostic groups for whom circumcision was necessary for salvation;[30] and especially the statement in 6.12 that the rival teachers are motivated by a desire to escape persecution, which in the context of Galatians means persecution from (nomistic) Jewish quarters (cf. 4.29; 5.11; 6.17)—the attempt to

Galatian Congregation', *NTS* 17 (1970–71), pp. 198-212.

25. So W. Lütgert, 'Gesetz und Geist: Eine Untersuchung der Vorgeschichte des Galaterbriefes', *BFCT* 22 (1917), pp. 473-576; J.H. Ropes, *The Singular Problem of the Epistle to the Galatians* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929).

26. Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind.*

27. F.R. Crownfield, 'The Singular Problem of the Dual Galatians', *JBL* 64 (1945), pp. 491-500.

28. W. Schmithals, *Paul and the Gnostics* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1972).

29. See Longenecker, *Galatians*, pp. lxxxix-xcvi.

30. See Jewett, 'Agitators', p. 199.

dissociate the rival teachers from nomistic Judaism creates more problems than it solves. It is better to see them as Jewish Christians, with a nomistic view of circumcision[31] and some connection to Judaea.

But this does not yet allow us to identify the presence of what I have described as the Jewish framework at this stage of the sequence of events. For in a highly stimulating and oft-cited article, Jewett has attempted to combine nomistic rival teachers ('agitators' as he calls them) with a decidedly non-nomistic circumcision campaign.[32] His starting point is 6.12, Paul's statement that the agitators were motivated by a desire to escape persecution. He argues, quite compellingly, that such a motivation is best explained against the background of rising zealot[33] nationalism in Judaea beginning in the late 40s of the first century CE. Judaean Jewish Christians came under suspicion in this situation because of their links to communities of uncircumcised Gentile Christians. Some of the Jewish Christians, so his argument goes, became convinced that such suspicions would be allayed and persecution averted if they were able to carry out a successful programme of circumcision among these Gentile churches. But—and this is a crucial point in his argument—they were not necessarily interested in making full law observers out of these Gentiles (though they would have been happy if this developed). Circumcision itself was their goal; success here would be enough to turn aside zealot attacks. And so the obligation 'to obey the entire law' (cf. 5.3) was kept conveniently in the background.

How did they go about achieving their goal? Here Jewett makes two,

31. οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι in 6.13 remains problematical. It certainly refers to the same group as is the subject of θέλουσιν, i.e. those who are advocating circumcision. Jewett ('Agitators', pp. 202-203) and others (e.g. F.F. Bruce, *Commentary on Galatians* [NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982], pp. 269-70) argue that the participle should be seen as a causative middle, 'those who (try to) cause (others) to be circumcised', citing Robertson's discussion (A.T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* [New York: Hodder & Stoughton, 1914], pp. 808-809). But Robertson's discussion has to do only with causative action directed towards oneself, not towards others. More likely the form should be seen as a simple passive, 'the circumcised ones', though it is still curious. (Why not a perfect, as in the less well attested variant? Why not οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς [cf. 2.12] or οἱ ταράσσοντες ὑμᾶς [cf. 5.10]?).

32. Jewett, 'Agitators'.

33. I use the lowercase 'zealot' because I do not believe that there was an identifiable Zealot party at this early stage of the events in Judaea; see my 'Rural Bandits, City Mobs and the Zealots', *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 21 (1990), pp. 19-40.

not necessarily fully consistent, suggestions. One has to do with Abraham: 'circumcision was presented as a prerequisite for entering fully into Abraham's promise, into the chosen people whom God would spare in the parousia' (p. 207). The other has to do with the Galatians' own aspirations as Hellenists: circumcision was presented as a means of perfection, a presentation calculated to appeal to any whose aspirations were formed either by the mystery religions or by classical philosophy. It is this second appeal that really forms the heart of Jewett's argument. He sees the agitators' programme as a 'cunningly devised tactic' (p. 208), nomistic in motivation but not in means: circumcision and the cultic calendar were 'presented to the Galatians on a basis which was far from orthodox. But the agitators were not disturbed as long as quick and observable results could be achieved' (p. 208).

Jewett's reconstruction takes the witness of 5.3 and 6.12-13 seriously, and goes a long way towards a satisfactory accounting of all the evidence. But his argument is unconvincing at the point where it relates most directly to the issue under discussion here, namely, his contention that the rival teachers pursued their own nomistic goals through decidedly non-nomistic means. I know of no evidence to suggest that Hellenists might be predisposed to see circumcision as a means of perfection, and Jewett does not provide us with any. If the evidence of Gentile sympathizers (such as Izates, king of Adiabene[34]) tells us anything at all, it tells us that circumcision was the *last* element of Judaism that Hellenists were likely to find appealing. Further, there is no indication from the argument of Galatians that the dispute between Paul and the rival teachers had anything to do with alternative means to perfection. The language of perfection is tellingly absent from Galatians. The use of ἐπιτελεῖσθε in 3.3 no doubt reflects the language of the rival teachers. But if so it indicates that they were presenting their message as a completion of Paul's preaching, rather than as something in opposition to it;[35] it by no means suggests a thematization of perfection itself.[36]

The argument of Galatians suggests that what was at issue between Paul and the rival teachers was not the way to perfection but the way to membership in the family of Abraham. Jewett is quite right in seeing this as part of the agitators' programme, for it is difficult to imagine Paul

34. See Josephus, *Ant.* 20.34-53.

35. See Jewett, 'Agitators', pp. 206-207; H. Schlier, *Der Brief an die Galater* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), pp. 123-24.

36. The same can be said of τελέσητε in 5.16.

introducing Abraham into a debate over circumcision on his own. The fact that Genesis 17 quite explicitly and forcefully declares circumcision to be a prerequisite for membership in Abraham's 'seed' makes Abraham much more useful to the rival teachers than to Paul.[37] His lengthy discussion of Abraham and his 'seed' in 3.6-29 and 4.21-31 is in all probability to be seen as a response to the (undoubtedly more cogent) argument of the rival teachers. But this renders Jewett's proposal even less compelling. A debate over circumcision, carried out in terms of Abraham, of membership in Abraham's family, of the interpretation of scripture, and so on, a debate in which all three participants (that is, Paul, the rival teachers and the Galatians) accept the law and the prophets as 'scripture' (see 3.8, 22; 4.30), is a debate linked much more closely to the type of Israel framework outlined above than to any general Hellenistic notions of perfection.

There are good grounds for concluding, then, that the Israel framework goes back at least to the advent of the rival teachers. Jewish Christians, with some link to Judaea and the Jerusalem church, they argued that circumcision was a prerequisite for membership in Abraham's family and thus for salvation itself. They may have downplayed full Torah observance (5.3);[38] their goal seems to have been circumcision itself rather than formal proselytism and full incorporation into the Jewish community. Their motivation may have had as much to do with the need to resolve internal dissonance as to deflect external persecution, though the latter is certainly part of the picture (6.12). But whatever their motivation, by the time they had finished presenting their case to the Galatians, the latter were convinced that the salvation accomplished by Christ was not an unqualified universal benefit, directly accessible to humankind per se, but instead was available only to those who had become part of Abraham's family, and that through circumcision.

But why were the Galatians prepared to accept this necessary

37. Cf. the Jewish emphasis on Abraham as the prototype proselyte; see, e.g., *Gen. R.* 38.13; *b. Suk.* 49b; Philo, *Virt.* 212-19; *Apoc. Abr.* 1–8. According to *Gen. R.* 46.10 it was while reading Genesis 17 that Izates decided to become circumcised.

38. 6.13a may be simply polemical, or it may hint at the kind of argument for the unfulfillability of the law found in Romans 2–3, 7 (cf. Gal. 3.19). In any case, it need not call into question the general nomistic orientation of the rival teachers; see Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 293.

connection between membership in Abraham's family and salvation itself? The question of 'how it was possible for the anti-Pauline forces to get a foothold among the Galatian Christians'[39] is an important one, both for its own sake and for the issue being pursued here. One of the strengths of Jewett's paper is its recognition of the question and its attempt to deal with it directly. His answer remains unconvincing, but he at least recognizes the significance of the question.

The question, then, has to do with the conviction—held by all three parties at least by the time of the writing of Galatians—that membership in Abraham's family is not only desirable but essential for salvation. How have the Galatians come to this conviction? Did the rival preachers find it already present when they arrived, so that all that remained was to convince them that such membership had circumcision as its prerequisite? Or did they have to convince the Galatians of both prerequisites for salvation in Christ—membership in Abraham's family, and that, in turn, through circumcision? This question leads directly into the issue under discussion in this paper. Did Paul present his universal gospel within an Israel-centred framework, and so either explicitly or implicitly leading the Galatians to believe that identification with Christ brought with it membership in the Abrahamic family of which Christ was a part? Or did he present them with a purely universal message—a saviour sent by the one true God, whose dying and rising has made salvation available for all—in which case we need to look for some other reason as to why the Galatians found the argument of the rival teachers compelling?

The burden of proof in my opinion lies with those who would argue for the second option. This option is the more difficult of the two, in that it requires the rival teachers to complete a much longer 'bridge' from the Galatian situation as they found it to their own position. Further, Paul shows no surprise at all that the Galatians desire to be part of Abraham's family; the matter-of-fact way in which this is discussed suggests strongly that it was an element shared from the beginning rather than something only recently introduced.

Since the question itself is rarely acknowledged, examples of arguments for the second option are even more rarely encountered. The difficulties in the way of such a position are well illustrated, though, in the one recent attempt that I know of to argue along these lines, that of H.D. Betz in his Hermeneia commentary. As Betz describes it, the initial

39. The phrasing is Betz's; see *Galatians*, p. 8.

conversion of the Galatians was one in which the Jewish framework was strikingly absent. They were converted from idolatry to monotheism, and from bondage under 'pagan superstition and the fear of Gods and demons' to a new realm of freedom, in which 'all religious, social, and cultural distinctions and discriminations based upon [the old religion] and sanctioned by it' were done away with. Belief in Christ gave them entry not to the family of Abraham, but—Betz declares, somewhat surprisingly—to the Roman empire:

> For them, the new religion represented 'enlightenment' (cf. 4.8-10). For them, being members of the Christian community meant being cosmopolitans rather then 'barbarians' and provincial 'hicks' from an ungovernable and dangerous territory on the fringes of the Empire [i.e. Galatia]. Their world was now the Roman Empire.[40]

How, then, one is constrained to ask, did they come to find the message of the rival teachers appealing, a message that with its focus on Abraham served, after all, to link the Galatians with an even more 'ungovernable and dangerous territory on the fringes of the Empire'? As an answer, Betz proposes the following scenario. After their initial enthusiasm wore off, the Galatians 'apparently ran into problems which they could not handle under the terms with which they were familiar through Paul's teaching'.[41] The problems had to do with the 'flesh':[42] transgressions continued to take place among their members, a fact difficult to reconcile with their supposed new existence 'in the Spirit'. Arriving in the midst of this situation, the rival teachers appeared to the Galatians to offer a sturdier bulwark against sin than Paul's ephemeral message of 'freedom' and 'Spirit'. Christ is effective, the teachers explained, but only for those who 'stand firmly in the Torah covenant'. Only by entering the Sinai covenant would they be able to find what was apparently lacking in Paul's gospel, namely 'a law to tell them what was right and wrong', and 'rituals to correct transgressions'.[43]

How convincing is this reconstruction? Human experience is full of strange happenings, and such a veering from 'Spirit' to 'law'—or, in

40. For Betz's discussion, including this quoted material, see *Galatians*, pp. 2-3.

41. Betz, *Galatians*, p. 8.

42. Betz seems to see Paul's references to σάρξ (5.13, 16, 17, 19; 6.12, 13) as reflective of the Galatians' own awareness of a problem.

43. Betz, *Galatians*, p. 9. Betz does not include Abraham's family explicitly as a part of the teachers' message, but it is certainly implicit in phrases such as 'partakers of the Sinai covenant', and '"heirs" of the security that this included'.

the terms under discussion here, from a universalistic to an Israel-centred gospel—is not impossible to conceive. But it does not find support at the one place where it is open to testing, the rhetoric of Paul's letter. Betz's argument is that the Galatians were attracted to circumcision because it was part of a package that offered a moral framework for everyday life in the world. But if we can trust the evidence of 5.3, it was precisely the moral framework, the 'entire law', that was being *downplayed* by the rival teachers. The fact that circumcision was part of a larger package was precisely what was not fully in view in Galatia. Giving this observation even greater force is the fact that many Gentiles—the so-called 'godfearers'[44]—apparently found it possible to avail themselves of much of the moral framework without the inconvenience of circumcision. The message of the rival teachers seems to have been tilted in the other direction—circumcision itself (and the status it might convey), rather than the Torah-regulated pattern of life of which it was a part.

But even if, for the sake of argument, we were to give more force to a verse such as 4.21 ('you who desire to be subject to the law'), thus entertaining the possibility that the Galatians did see circumcision as part of a larger package, the fact remains that nowhere in the epistle is there evidence of the kind of problem that is key to Betz's reconstruction. If there is any concern with problems of the 'flesh' in Galatia, it is on the part of Paul, not of the Galatians themselves. Nowhere is there any indication that what motivated the Galatians was a perception of moral deficiency in the gospel they had received. They may have perceived the message of the rival teachers as complementary to Paul's gospel,[45] but not as remedial in an ethical sense.

44. While Kraabel's objections (e.g. A.T. Kraabel, 'The Disappearance of the "God-Fearers"', *Numen* 28 [1981], pp. 113-26) have raised questions about the term itself, there seems to be little scholarly doubt about the reality of the phenomenon of Gentile adherents or sympathizers; see, e.g., L.H. Feldman, 'The Omnipresence of the God-Fearers', *BARev* 12 (1986), pp. 58-63; S.J.D. Cohen, 'Crossing the Boundary and Becoming a Jew', *HTR* 82 (1989), pp. 11-33.

45. As mentioned above, the use of ἐπιτελεῖσθε in 3.3 may well be ironic, reflecting a situation where the rival message was being portrayed/perceived as a completion of what Paul had begun. Further, Paul's vehement denial that he is 'still preaching circumcision' (5.11) may well have been prompted by the suggestion that the rival message was not really inconsistent with Paul's gospel; see, e.g., P. Borgen, 'Paul Preaches Circumcision and Pleases Men', in M. Hooker and S.G. Wilson (eds.), *Paul and Paulinism* (London: SPCK, 1982), pp. 37-46; Schlier, *Galater*, p. 239.

We can account for the Galatian situation most simply, then, if we assume that the Galatians already considered membership in Abraham's family to be desirable. This moves us back to the stage of Paul's original preaching. Is it possible that Paul himself had led the Galatians to believe that membership in Abraham's family was part of the package when they accepted Christ? Or, less definitively, is it possible that such a belief was at least latent in Paul's gospel as originally proclaimed? This brings us again to the question of the Jewish framework of Paul's gospel, a question to which we now turn our attention.

3. *'You are Abraham's Offspring': The Jewish Framework of Paul's Gospel*

a. *The Pauline Corpus as a Whole*

The preceding discussion of the situation in Galatia has suggested the possibility that the Jewish framework to Paul's gospel was explicitly and significantly present from the beginning. My contention is that this was indeed the case. That is, while the substance of the message itself could be presented and heard in universal terms—Christ a universal saviour who died and rose for all—the Jewish symbolic world in which that message had taken shape, for Paul no less than the Judaean churches, continued to provide for the message an Israel-centred framework held in common (though undoubtedly understood in different ways) by Paul and his Gentile converts alike. The message could be abstracted from its framework in such a way that ethnic-specific features slipped into the background. But it was not fully intelligible apart from that framework, and was not proclaimed without it. In support of this contention, I cite the following bodies of evidence drawn from the Pauline corpus as a whole.

1. The categories of Jew and non-Jew frequently pop up in places where there does not seem to be any compelling contextual reason for them to do so.[46] 1 Cor. 1.22-24, already cited above, is a good example. The theme of the passage is the foolishness of the gospel, a divine foolishness that is paradoxically 'wiser than human wisdom' (σοφώτερον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, 1.25). But human wisdom apparently comes in two varieties: that of Jews, for whom the cross is a stumbling

46. And so I leave out of account here passages where the Jew–Gentile distinction is (presumably) appropriate to the context: 2 Cor. 11.21-29; Phil. 3.2-6; 1 Thess. 2.14-16; and Galatians as a whole.

block, and that of Gentiles/Greeks, for whom it is foolishness (vv. 22-23). This subdivision of humanity comes suddenly and without preparation; indeed, since wisdom and foolishness are predicated only of the Greeks/Gentiles, the reference to Jews seems to be gratuitous. Similar unexpected references to Jews and Gentiles appear in 1 Cor. 9.20-23 ('all things to all people'); 10.32 (where humanity is subdivided into Jews, Greeks and the church of God); 2 Cor. 11.26 (where Paul's catalogue of danger includes 'my own people'[47] and 'Gentiles') and 1 Cor. 12.13 and Col. 3.11 (where the church is said to unify and transcend the categories of Jew and Greek).

The unexpectedness of these references means that Paul assumes that the categories are basic and can be taken for granted. Galatians is different to some extent, in that the context has pushed the categories of Jew and Gentile to the fore. Nevertheless, there is widespread agreement that in Gal. 3.27-28—'There is no longer Jew or Greek...for all of you are one in Christ Jesus' (cf. 1 Cor. 12.13 and Col. 3.11, cited in the previous paragraph)—Paul is citing an already existing confessional formula,[48] which perhaps had formed part of the baptismal liturgy in Galatia[49] and with which he assumes the Galatians will concur. This means that from the beginning the Galatians heard the gospel as a message promising to transcend and unite basic subdivisions of humanity, including that between Jew and Gentile.

2. Further, the Galatians heard this message from one who made no attempt to conceal his own Jewish identity. Indeed, it probably formed part of the proclamation itself. For in 1 Corinthians 15, where he reminds the Corinthians of the gospel that he had proclaimed to them, he appends to the traditional kerygma an account of how the risen Christ had appeared to him as well, even though he was engaged in persecuting the church. Since this does nothing to advance the argument of ch. 15,[50] it would appear that it was a normal part of Paul's usual

47. Literally ἐκ γένους: see V.P. Furnish, *II Corinthians* (AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984), p. 517.

48. See Schlier, *Galater*, pp. 172-75; Betz, *Galatians*, pp. 181-85; Longenecker, *Galatians*, pp. 154-58.

49. As Betz says: 'Again, Paul can activate the Galatians' situation of eyewitnesses: they themselves know the things of which Paul is reminding them; they have heard them before and have agreed to them in the decisive ceremony which had made them members of the Christian church' (*Galatians*, p. 185).

50. 'By concluding the considerable enumeration of resurrection witnesses with his own, which in turn led to a short digression about his apostleship, Paul's

presentation of the message. Likewise in Gal. 1.13-16, Paul can assume that the Galatians are familiar ('you have heard') with the story of his conversion and call, in particular the detail that he had persecuted the church out of zeal for his Jewish upbringing. The lack of any polemical edge to the narrative itself[51] suggests that it was through Paul's original preaching, rather than through the rival teachers at a later point, that the Galatians first heard the story.[52] Paul's Jewish heritage does come up elsewhere in polemical contexts, as he defends himself against Jewish Christian detractors (2 Cor. 11.21-22; Phil. 3.4-6); but still there is no sense in either of these passages that he is revealing something for the first time. His Jewishness was part of the package from the beginning.

3. Still on the theme of persecution, but from a different angle, the fact that Paul himself became the target of Jewish persecution is also of significance, and in two ways. First, his congregations seem to be well aware of the fact (2 Cor. 11.24, 26; 1 Thess. 2.14-16)—those of Galatia included (Gal. 4.29; 5.11; 6.17)—which underlines the point made in the preceding section, that is, that Paul's congregations knew him as a *Jewish* apostle. Secondly, as Sanders has observed on the basis of 2 Cor. 11.24, if synagogue discipline was both initiated against Paul and submitted to by him, then 'both Paul and the Jews who punished him regarded the Christian movement as falling within Judaism'.[53] That is, the Jewish framework to Paul's universal gospel was readily apparent to those Jews in a position to know it.

4. We move now from the Jewish side of the categorical pairing to the Gentile. Here we find one of the most compelling pieces of evidence, one that is also easily overlooked: the fact that Paul regularly makes use of the term ἔθνη (Gentiles) to refer to his sphere of apostolic activity,

argument has gotten away from him a bit'; G.D. Fee, *The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), p. 736.

51. Of course, the larger rhetorical unit (the *Narratio*; 1.12–2.14) of which 1.13-16 is a part, is strongly polemical. But the point of dispute between Paul and the rival teachers seems to concern the degree of Paul's dependence on and subordination to the earlier apostles, rather than the facts of his persecuting activity and conversion. I see no way in which these facts by themselves would have furthered the goals of the rival teachers, and thus doubt that they would have been introduced for the first time only upon their arrival.

52. So Schlier, *Galater*, p. 49; and M. Hengel, *The Pre-Christian Paul* (London: SCM Press/Philadelphia: Trinity, 1991), p. 66. There are no textual grounds for the rendering in the NRSV: 'you have heard, *no doubt*'.

53. Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, p. 192.

and in such a matter-of-fact way as to suggest that he had done so in person as well. The gospel is 'a stumbling block to Jews and foolishness to Gentiles', Paul declares to his Gentile[54] congregation in Corinth (1 Cor. 1.23). To the Thessalonians, all former idolaters (1 Thess. 1.9), he insists that persecution will not prevent him from carrying out his mission of 'speaking to the Gentiles so that they may be saved' (2.16). While Paul can use territorial or ethnic terms to refer to his converts,[55] when he thinks of them as a collectivity, he calls them 'Gentiles'.[56] Thus it was not the rival teachers who taught the Galatians to identify themselves as Gentiles. This terminology, encountered frequently in Galatians,[57] was part of Paul's presentation from the outset; they always knew Paul as one who had been called to preach among the Gentiles (cf. 1.16; 2.2), and thus always understood themselves as belonging to the group of Gentiles for whom his gospel was intended.

The term is not surprising when we read the epistles from the point of view of the author; a Jewish writer such as Paul would be predisposed to use such terms to categorize humanity. But what message would the term convey to the readers? At the very least it would have been mildly offensive; the word was used in our period in Hellenism generally with the sense of 'outsiders' or 'foreigners'.[58] But it is scarcely to be doubted that Paul's hearers would have quickly recognized that in his usage the term meant 'non-Jews'; this would be the case even if it were not confirmed by the casual way in which the term is frequently paired explicitly with Ἰουδαῖοι ('Jews') or its equivalent.[59] Paul may have proclaimed a universal salvation available to all; but the terms in which he did so left no doubt that 'all' meant 'Gentiles as well as Jews', and that while he belonged to the latter, his hearers, the Galatians included, belonged to the former.

54. 1 Cor. 7.18 is most probably a general reference, rather than a reflection of an actual Corinthian situation. When Paul refers to the Corinthians directly, he describes them as (former) Gentiles (12.2).

55. E.g. 'Macedonia and Achaia' (Rom. 15.26); 'you Corinthians' (2 Cor. 6.11).

56. For references outside Galatians and Romans, in addition to those cited already, see 1 Cor. 5.1; 10.20; 2 Cor. 11.26; Col. 1.27; 1 Thess. 4.5.

57. Gal. 1.16; 2.2, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15; 3.8, 14.

58. The usage is attested at least from the time of Aristotle (*Politics* 7.2.5 [1324b.10]) through to that of Cassius Dio (*Roman History* 36.41.1). See also the entry in LSJ and the references cited there.

59. See 1 Cor. 1.22-24; 2 Cor. 11.26; Gal. 2.9, 12, 14, 15; 1 Thess. 2.14-16 (and frequently in Romans).

The preceding list is certainly not exhaustive. Mention could have been made, for example, of Paul's use of scripture,[60] and his assumption that his readers will catch passing but argumentatively significant allusions.[61] In addition, one could make the point that since Paul's context was one in which Judaism was well-known, and further was the only known example of an exclusively monotheistic religion, it would be inevitable that Paul's message would be placed within a Jewish framework by his hearers.[62] Nevertheless, the bodies of evidence discussed above are sufficient to establish the general point that Paul's universal message was presented in such a manner and context that its Jewish framework was readily apparent.

But the question being raised in connection to the Galatian situation was more specific. It is not simply: did the Galatians understand themselves to be beneficiaries as Gentiles of a salvation stemming from the Jews? but, did Paul give them reason to believe that by accepting his message they were *ipso facto* becoming part of the family of Abraham? It is clear from Galatians 3–4 and Romans 4 that Paul himself can think in these terms. But did it in any way form part of his initial proclamation and teaching, or did it come up only in response to the activity of others? The evidence, while not plentiful, is nonetheless instructive.

5. On the one hand, there is no confirming evidence that Paul told his converts explicitly that they had become part of Abraham's family. The one reference to Abraham outside Romans and Galatians actually uses the term 'seed of Abraham' (2 Cor. 11.22), but in the straightforward sense of Abraham's natural descendants. Responding to the arrival of the 'super-apostles' in Corinth, Paul asks: 'Are they Hebrews? Israelites? Abraham's seed? So am I.' While Abraham himself is apparently part of the pool of information Paul shares with his converts, he gives no indication here (or anywhere else) that membership in Abraham's family was also an explicit part of that shared knowledge.

But on the other hand, there is a body of evidence—small perhaps, but solid nonetheless—that this was at least implicit in the symbolic world inhabited by Paul's congregations. To begin with, there is one further aspect of Paul's use of ἔθνη ('Gentiles') that needs to be taken into account. As demonstrated above, he considers the members of his

60. An element of his gospel preaching itself (1 Cor. 15.3, 4).

61. See, e.g., 1 Cor. 5.6-8; 11.7-9; 15.22, 45-49; 2 Cor. 3.7-18; 11.3.

62. See R.L. Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans Saw Them* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).

congregations, at least in one sense, to be Gentiles.[63] But in another sense, he differentiates them from the Gentiles. They are not to behave as the Gentiles do (1 Thess. 4.5; 1 Cor. 5.1; 10.20). Once they were Gentiles; but now that they have learned to say 'Jesus is Lord' they are Gentiles no longer (1 Cor. 12.2; cf. Eph. 4.17). What have they become? What have they received in exchange for their old identity as Gentiles? Here again, Paul can express the new sphere of existence in universal terms: the 'in Christ' reality is one in which the old distinction between Jew and Gentile is transcended, so that 'there is no longer Greek and Jew' (Col. 3.11; also 1 Cor. 12.13).[64] But in view of the preceding discussion, it should not be thought that this universal and inclusive body was perceived in isolation from an Israel framework. In the context of Paul's mission, 'Gentile' meant 'non-Jew'; if Paul told his converts, then, that in Christ they were no longer Gentiles, he was thereby leading them to believe that they now belonged in some real way to the family of Israel.[65]

This is confirmed by two other telling references. First, in 1 Cor. 10.1-13 Paul uses the story of Israel's exodus and wilderness sojourn to underline his message about the need to avoid idolatry. He introduces it as a story about '*our* ancestors' (οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, v. 1), clearly including the Corinthians among the family (cf. ἀδελφοί, v. 1) of descendants.[66] To be sure, much of Paul's reading of the story is novel, and he leads into it with a disclosure formula (οὐ θέλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν) that usually signals the imparting of new information.[67] But this does not blunt the force of the inclusive first person plural of v. 1; the argumentative impact of the whole passage rests on the assumption that the Corinthians will be quite prepared to see in the Exodus account their own family history.

Likewise, in Phil. 3.3, assuming that his readers will understand completely what he is talking about, Paul claims the descriptor ἡ περιτομή ('the circumcision') for himself and his Philippian converts.[68]

63. While Rome was not one of his congregations, his usage in Romans is similar; see 1.5-6, 13; 11.13; 15.27.

64. Though it is interesting that ἔθνη does not appear in either of these passages, nor in Gal. 3.28.

65. So Hays, *Echoes*, p. 96.

66. Note the inclusive first person plurals in vv. 6, 9, 11. See also Hays, *Echoes*, pp. 95-96.

67. See 1 Thess. 4.13; 2 Cor. 1.8; Rom. 1.13; 11.25.

68. There is no reason to suppose that with ἡμεῖς Paul is referring here to Jewish

The term is used here as elsewhere[69] as a metonymy for 'the Jews' or 'Israel'; by claiming it for Christians, then, Paul is declaring that those 'who worship in the Spirit of God and boast in Christ Jesus' are *ipso facto* members of 'Israel'. Admittedly, the claim comes in a passage provoked (as in Galatians) by a Judaizing threat. But without getting into the discussion of whether the threat was actual or only anticipated, the fact that Paul feels no need to elaborate on this claim—elaborating instead on the matter of 'confidence in the flesh' (vv. 4-11)—suggests that the claim was uncontroversial, part of the common ground that he could take for granted. A similar assumption underlies Col. 2.11-13.

b. *The Galatian Situation*

We are now in a position to return to our examination of the Galatian situation. Our attempt to burrow back through the sequence of events in Galatia led us to the strong suspicion that it was Paul himself who had prepared the Galatians to see membership in Abraham's family as a desirable thing. The examination of relevant material from the Pauline corpus as a whole provides solid reasons to believe that this suspicion is correct. As we have seen, there is clear evidence that while his gospel could be expressed in universal terms, this universal message was proclaimed and received within an explicitly Israel-centred framework. The evidence suggests further that Paul led his converts to believe that by receiving this message they were being incorporated into the community to whom the scriptures were addressed, that is, 'Israel'. Both observations are certainly consistent with the evidence emerging from the Galatian sequence.

The Galatian situation, though, allows us to be a little more precise. As was noted above, the rival teachers seem to have been able to present their position as a complement to Paul's gospel rather than something significantly at odds with it; Paul's exaggeration of the differences (e.g., 'another gospel') implies that the Galatians themselves did not see the message of Paul and the other teachers as mutually exclusive. This suggests two things. First, in agreement with the argument developed above, it was Paul himself who led the Galatians to see membership in Abraham's family as a desirable thing. But secondly, and on the other hand, this aspect of his preaching must have been left sufficiently

Christians only; other first person plurals in the passage include the readers (vv. 15, 16, 20, 21).

69. See Rom. 3.30; 4.9; Gal. 2.7-9; Col. 3.11.

vague—the problems involved in integrating universal message and Jewish framework left sufficiently unaddressed—that the message of the rival teachers was able to meet with such a positive response in Galatia. It is unlikely, for example, that Abraham himself figured in any significant way in Paul's preaching; indeed, there is no evidence that he explicitly told any of his converts, the Galatians included,[70] that they were part of 'Abraham's seed'. Given the tight connection between 'seed' and 'circumcision' in Genesis 17, this is not surprising; his explicit treatment of Abraham is probably to be seen as precipitated by the activity and arguments of others. Nor did he tell his converts, in explicit terms, that they were members of 'true' or 'new' Israel.[71] His preaching implied this, but did not dwell on it or make it explicit. The substance of his message was sufficiently universal to be immediately appealing to Gentiles; the framework of his message was sufficiently Jewish to lead Gentile converts to believe that they were part of the real family of Abraham; but the interface between message and framework was left sufficiently unexplored and ambiguous that some of those converts were quite prepared to see circumcision as the logical next step. The rival teachers were successful because they were able to take advantage of the particular kind of status ambiguity[72] that emerged from this combination of message and framework. Their success, in turn, brought this ambiguity into the open, and precipitated that exploration of the interface between message and framework that we know as the epistle to the Galatians.

70. If Longenecker were right in seeing γινώσκετε ἄρα ὅτι in Gal. 3.7 as a disclosure formula, serving 'to remind readers of what is known' (*Galatians*, p. 114), we would have some evidence that Paul had already told the Galatians that 'those who believe are the descendants of Abraham' (see also G.W. Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians* [JSNTSup 29; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989], pp. 31, 44-47). But I am not able to convince myself that this is the case. Certainly γινώσκειν ὅτι can function in this way (Rom. 6.6; 2 Cor. 8.9). But in addition to the fact that οἶδα seems to be preferred (some three dozen occurrences, against only two for γινώσκειν), the presence of ἄρα, usually inferential and never found in a disclosure formula, suggests strongly that in v. 7 Paul is drawing out an inference from the passage quoted in v. 6 (with γινώσκετε as imperative), rather than reminding the Galatians of something they already knew (with γινώσκετε as indicative); so Betz, *Galatians*, p. 141.

71. See P. Richardson, *Israel in the Apostolic Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

72. A status ambiguity that would become immediately apparent should they walk through the door of a synagogue, or even encounter Jewish Christians of the more conservative variety!

4. *Concluding Reflections*

Our discussion of the Galatian situation was carried out not as an end in itself, but for the light it might shed on the larger question of the shape of Paul's missionary preaching. To be fully established, our results would need to be tested in a more thorough examination of the other epistles, an exercise which might lead to further refinement.[73] But the results of our study can stand as at least a first approximation.

In conclusion, though, I want to touch on an issue raised in the introduction to the paper. Throughout the paper I have made a distinction between the terms in which Paul presented the gospel to Gentiles (their status vis-à-vis Israel, etc.), and his own convictions on the matter. The two are not unrelated, however, and it is appropriate to reflect on the latter in light of our findings on the former.

First, it was noted above that Paul's mission to the Gentiles is increasingly being seen against the background of Jewish 'patterns of universalism'—ways in which Judaism was able to find a place for Gentiles within God's purposes that did not compromise their own covenantal self-understanding. How does the profile of Paul's preaching compare with these various patterns? From the material surveyed here there is no evidence that Paul presented his message in terms drawn from the eschatological pilgrimage tradition. Nor does his message conform to the developing pattern of 'righteous Gentiles': basic to this conception was the idea that (some) Gentiles might be considered righteous and thus have a share in the age to come *without* becoming part of the family of Abraham (i.e. by proselytism). Paul's insistence on this latter point, together with his emphasis on the equality of Jew and Gentile in Christ, sets him apart. Indeed, these features of his preaching, together with the way they are defended and developed when they are challenged (e.g. in Galatians), mean that his appeal to the Gentile is closest, at least in formal terms, to proselytism. Like Eleazar, the stricter of the advisers of the king of Adiabene,[74] Paul's preaching implies—and he himself believes—that only by ceasing to be Gentiles and by becoming part of the seed of Abraham will his non-Jewish hearers be pleasing to God and have a share in the age to come. But unlike Eleazar,

73. For example, one would need to consider the possibility of development in Paul's preaching, especially if Longenecker is correct in his early dating of Galatians.

74. Josephus, *Ant.* 20.34-48.

he has come to believe that membership in Abraham's family is marked not by circumcision and Torah observance but by Christ. This suggests that if Paul's mission to the Gentiles is to be understood in terms of a revision of Jewish universalism rather than a rejection of Jewish particularism, proselytism may well be the place to begin.[75]

Secondly, the vagueness or lack of resolution between Paul's universal message and its Jewish framework may suggest that he did not have the concomitant issues fully worked out from the beginning. His convictional universe consisted of a native framework derived from his Jewish upbringing, restructured around the new central conviction that salvation was to be found in Christ. With this restructuring came the additional conviction that he was called to bring the message of salvation to the Gentiles, a message that he was able to express both in terms of a universal substance (Christ is the saviour of all) and in terms of an Israel-centred framework (all who are in Christ the saviour are part of the real community of Israel). The success of the rival teachers in Galatia seems to have been made possible by the existence of a grey area of ambiguity between Paul's universal message and its Jewish framework. Perhaps this area of ambiguity resided only in the perception of the Galatians. But it seems more likely that it was present in Paul as well. That is, while his basic set of convictions were set by his Jewish upbringing and his conversion experience, it was only as situations emerged such as we find at Galatia that he was pressed to work out in detail the implications of his convictions and to attempt to resolve the apparent tensions between his new universal gospel and the inherited Jewish framework in which it came to expression. Original proclamation and developing circumstance set up the creative dialectic in which his theology is forged.

75. I arrive at this same destination from a quite different starting point in my paper 'Riches for the Gentiles'.

A PARADIGM OF THE APOCALYPSE: THE GOSPEL IN THE LIGHT OF EPISTOLARY ANALYSIS

G. Walter Hansen

A distinctive contribution of Richard Longenecker's commentary on Galatians is his outline of Paul's letter on the basis of its rebuke–request letter structure.[1] Even though many have observed Hellenistic epistolary conventions in the letter,[2] most major commentaries have offered some variant of an outline that divides the letter into three parts: autobiographical explanation (chs. 1–2); theological exposition (chs. 3–4); ethical exhortation (chs. 5–6).[3] Professor Longenecker is the first commentator on the letter to show how the common rebuke–request letter form in Greek papyrus letters provides the basic framework for Paul's letter to the Galatians.[4] This revolutionary perspective on the

1. R.N. Longenecker, *Galatians* (WBC, 41; Dallas: Word Books, 1990), pp. c-cix.

2. See J.L. White, *The Form and Function of the Body of the Greek Letter: A Study of the Letter-Body in the Non-Literary Papyri and in Paul the Apostle* (SBLDS, 2; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1972); T.Y. Mullins, 'Formulas in New Testament Epistles', *JBL* 91 (1972), pp. 380-90; W. Doty, *Letters in Primitive Christianity* (Guides to Biblical Scholarship, New Testament Series; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1973), pp. 27-47.

3. There are many variations of this outline; for example, H.D. Betz (*Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia* [Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979], pp. 16-23) derives his outline from rhetorical analysis: Epistolary Prescript (1.1-5); Exordium (1.6-11); Narratio (1.12–2.14); Propositio (2.15-21); Probatio (3.1–4.31); Exhortatio (5.1–6.10); Epistolary Postscript (6.11-18). But even here the threefold division is still basically intact.

4. Longenecker built on the previous work of N.A. Dahl, 'Paul's Letter to the Galatians: Epistolary Genre, Content, and Structure (unpublished paper for the SBL Paul Seminar, 1973) and on my doctoral dissertation published as *Abraham in Galatians—Epistolary and Rhetorical Contexts* (JSNTSup, 29; Sheffield: JSOT

structure of Galatians deserves careful examination. I wish to honour my mentor by exploring some of the implications of this new perspective for our understanding of Paul's exposition of the gospel in Galatians. Four prominent features of the rebuke–request letter form in Galatians which I examine here are: (1) the initial request in 4.12, (2) the subscription in 6.11-18, (3) the salutation in 1.1-5, and (4) the disclosure statement in 1.11-12.

1. *The Initial Request in 4.12*

After Paul's opening salutation (1.1-5), his use of the θαυμάζω rebuke formula (1.6) introduces an extended rebuke of the Galatians for their defection from the true gospel (1.6–4.11). Although an expression of rebuke after his salutation differs from his usual practice of expressing thanksgiving after his salutation,[5] research on the use of θαυμάζω ('I am astonished') in common Greek letters of Paul's era demonstrates that this phrase had the same function as the Εὐχαριστῶ ('I give thanks') phrase: it states the theme and the mood of the whole letter.[6] Greek letters which contain this common expression of rebuke often include other features which are also found in Galatians[7]—thus we find the following:

	Rebuke Elements	Galatians
1.	a statement of the cause for the astonishment-rebuke	(1.6)
2.	a reminder of previous instructions	(1.9)
3.	a rebuke for foolishness	(3.1, 3)
4.	a rebuke for negligence	(4.9)
5.	a rebuke for a change of mind	(1.6)

Press, 1989). I have now followed Longenecker's lead by using the rebuke–request structure as the basis of the outline in my commentary, *Galatians* (The IVP New Testament Commentary Series, 9; Downers Grove: IVP, 1994), pp. 29-30.

5. See 1 Thess. 1.2; 2 Thess. 1.3; 1 Cor. 1.4; Rom. 1.8; Phlm. 4; Col. 1.4.

6. Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians*, p. 33; Paul Schubert states that 'the function of the epistolary thanksgiving in the papyrus letters is to focus the epistolary situation, i.e., to introduce the vital theme of the letter' (*Form and Function of the Pauline Thanksgiving* [Zeitschrift fur die neutestamentliche Theologie, 20; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1939], p. 180). R.W. Funk says that the thanksgiving sections in Paul's letters 'tend to "telegraph" the content of the letter' (*Language, Hermeneutic, and the Word of God* [New York: Harper & Row, 1966], p. 257).

7. See twelve examples of θαυμάζω letters (rebuke–request letters) in Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians*, pp. 33-42.

6.	an expression of distress	(4.9)
7.	rebuking questions	(3.1-5; 4.9)
8.	an expression of request	(4.12)
9.	an appeal to a change of direction	(4.12)
10.	further instructions	(5.1–6.10)

This correspondence of characteristic elements in the letters of rebuke with similar elements in Paul's letter to the Galatians confirms the extent to which Paul's letter reflects the mood and structure of rebuke–request letters of his day. Of course, Paul's letter of rebuke differs from the extant papyrus letters of rebuke in some respects: most of them are relatively short letters to another individual, often a member of the family;[8] Paul's letter is extended by his autobiographical and theological excursions and is addressed to churches. Nevertheless, the basic form is the same.

The request section of Paul's letter (4.12–6.10) opens with the initial expression of request and the first imperative of the letter—Γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγώ, ὅτι κἀγὼ ὡς ὑμεῖς, ἀδελφοί, δέομαι ὑμῶν (4.12). This request is the decisive turning point in the letter. From this point on Paul's primary purpose is not to rebuke the Galatian Christians for their desertion from the gospel but to appeal to them to live according to the truth of the gospel. His appeal includes his autobiographical account of his relationship with the Galatians (4.12-20), his allegorical interpretation of the Sarah–Hagar story (4.21-31), and his ethical instructions (5.1–6.10). Paul closes the letter with a subscription in his own hand (6.11-18).

The epistolary structure of Galatians is presented by Longenecker as follows:[9]

1.1-5	Salutation;
1.6–4.11	Rebuke Section, with the inclusion of autobiographical details and theological arguments;
4.12–6.10	Request Section, with the inclusion of personal, scriptural, and ethical appeals;
6.11-18	Subscription.

Longenecker's outline of the epistolary structure of Galatians turns a high-wattage spotlight on the major turning point of the letter at 4.12

8. See G.N. Stanton's criticism of the use of the rebuke–request structure for the outline of Galatians in his review article, *Abraham in Galatians: Epistolary and Rhetorical Contexts*, by G. Walter Hansen, *JTS* 43 (1992), p. 615.

9. Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. cix.

where Paul moves from his rebuke section to his initial request: Γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγώ—'Become as I am'. Most commentaries view 4.12-20 as a subsidiary argument in a long chain of arguments stretching from 3.1–4.31 or as a parenthetical digression.[10] But when we view the request in 4.12 as the major turning point in the letter, then we are given a new perspective on the entire first half of the body of the letter (1.6–4.11). C.J. Bjerkelund's extensive analysis of request formulae in Paul's letters indicates that Paul's requests are prefaced by a background section which prepares the way for the request.[11] He discerns what he calls the εὐχαριστῶ–παρακαλῶ structure in Paul's letters. In this 'thanksgiving–request' letter structure, the thanksgiving section serves as a background section for the request. Similarly, in Galatians, the rebuke section is a background for the request in 4.12.

Paul's autobiography (1.11–2.21) has generally been interpreted as Paul's defence of his apostleship against accusations and misunderstandings which can only be conjured up by speculative mirror-reading of the text.[12] And Paul's exposition of scriptural texts in ch. 3 has been viewed as his response to his opponents' use of the same texts.[13] In other words, the interpretation has to a large extent been dependent on the validity of the speculation about the case against Paul. But when we view the first half of the letter as the background for his request in 4.12, we can redirect our attention from imaginary opponents to a more fundamental question of interpretation: how did Paul prepare the way for his request in 4.12 by telling his own story (1.11–2.21) and the story of Abraham (3.6–4.11)?

After his rebuke for desertion from the gospel (1.6-10), Paul intensifies his rebuke by setting forth the story of his own experience of the truth of the gospel (1.11–2.21). His story of his conversion highlights the dramatic reversal in his life when he received the revelation of Christ (1.11-16). In his account of his pre-Christian life, Paul refers twice to his past life as his life 'in Judaism' (1.13-14). Even though Paul always

10. See Betz, *Galatians*, pp. 220-21.

11. C.J. Bjerkelund, *Parakalo: Form, Funktion und Sinn der parakalô-Satz in den paulinischen Briefen* (Bibliotheca Theologica Norvegica, 1; Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1967), p. 139.

12. See the analysis of the pitfalls of mirror-reading, J.M.G. Barclay, 'Mirror-Reading a Polemical Letter: Galatians as a Test Case', *JSNT* 31 (1987), pp. 73-93.

13. C K. Barrett, 'The Allegory of Abraham, Sarah, and Hagar', in his *Essays on Paul* (London: SPCK, 1982), p. 158.

identified himself as a Jew ('I am an Israelite myself, a descendant of Abraham, from the tribe of Benjamin'; Rom. 11.1), he used the phrase 'in Judaism' as a way of describing his life before he was 'in Christ'. Judaism was the distinctive Jewish way of life. Before his conversion the Jewish identity markers such as circumcision, kosher food, and Sabbath observance were Paul's frame of reference for his own identity; but they were no longer significant for Paul when he found his new identity in Christ. In his conversion experience, God commissioned him to call Gentiles to believe in Christ (1.15-16). Even under pressure by leaders in the church to compromise the truth of the gospel by demanding Gentiles to live like Jews, Paul remained true to the gospel and defended the freedom of Gentiles from those demands (2.1-14). In his own personal experience of the significance of the gospel story, Paul was set free from the law to live for God: 'for through the law I died to the law, so that I might live to God, I have been crucified with Christ; and it is no longer I who live, but it is Christ who lives in me' (2.19-20). As a Jewish Christian, Paul had turned from seeking to destroy the church of God in his devotion to traditions within Judaism (1.13-14) to 'running' in his mission to the Gentiles (2.2) and living 'by faith in the Son of God' (2.20).

The irony of the Galatian crisis was that the Gentile Christians' commitment to Christ was eclipsed by their attempts to observe the distinctive Jewish way of life. Under pressure from the teachers of the law, they were moving in the opposite direction from Paul's conversion process: whereas Paul moved from life in Judaism to life in Christ, they were moving from life in Christ to life in Judaism. G. Lyons is right when he concludes that 'Paul presents his autobiography as a paradigm of the gospel of Christian freedom which he seeks to persuade his readers to reaffirm in the face of the threat presented by the troublemakers'.[14] Lyons' conclusion is supported by our recognition of the rebuke–request structure of Paul's letter. Paul presented his own story to the Galatian believers as a background to his request—'become like me'. By looking at his story they could see how to find their identity in Christ rather than in Judaism.

Paul's rebuke for foolishness about the gospel (3.1-5) is followed by a detailed scriptural exposition of the meaning of the gospel in terms of the promise given to Abraham (3.6–4.11). Paul retells the story of

14. See G. Lyons, *Pauline Autobiography: Toward a New Understanding* (SBLDS, 73; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), p. 171.

Abraham to prove that the blessing for Gentiles promised to Abraham is not obtained by keeping the law of Moses in order to establish a Jewish identity. The unity of all heirs of the promise—Jewish and Gentile—could not be accomplished by observance of the law because the law imprisoned all under sin and separated Jews from Gentiles.[15] The promised blessing for Gentiles is received by faith in Christ and experienced by the presence of the Spirit who witnesses to the believers' true identity as children of God.

Paul's story (1.11-21) and the Abraham story (3.6–4.11) present parallel paradigms to prepare the way for the request in 4.12. As Paul's life was transformed by his faith in the gospel, so Abraham was characterized by his faith in the gospel given to him in the promise (3.6-9). In both stories the same features of the gospel are disclosed: the revelatory origin of the gospel, the blessing for Gentiles in the gospel, and the exclusion of Jewishness as the basis for the inclusion of Gentiles. At the centre of both Paul's own story (1.11–2.21) and the story of Abraham (3.6–4.11) is the story of Christ. As R. Hays says, 'the Abraham story is for Paul taken up into the Christ story, and the Christ story is understood, with the hindsight of narrative logic, as the fit sequel to the Abraham story'.[16] Consequently, not only do we see Paul presenting himself as a paradigm for the church (2.18-21), but we also see him 'discovering in the story of Abraham a prefiguration of the church'.[17] Abraham had offspring among the Gentiles who believed in the gospel (3.7, 29); so did Paul (4.19). Paul's story leads to the conclusion that when the ego—self-centredness—is crucified there will be a release from bondage to the law and an experience of new life in Christ which unites Jewish and Gentile Christians (2.15-21). The Abraham story leads to the same conclusion: baptism into Christ unites Jews and Gentiles, slave and free, male and female (3.27-27).

So when Paul is requesting Christians to become like him (4.12) he is urging them to centre their lives in Christ, just as he centred his life in Christ by faith in Christ and as Abraham centred his life in Christ by

15. See N.T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1991), pp. 170-72.

16. R. Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ: An Investigation of the Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3.1–4.11* (SBLDS, 56; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), p. 226.

17. R. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 105.

faith in the promise of Christ. Egocentricity and ethnocentricity must be crucified with Christ because they do not reflect the gospel.

Immediately after his request in 4.12, the first reason Paul gives to his readers to identify with him is his identification with them: 'for I became like you'. As a Pharisee Paul was trained to practise a kind of second degree separation: he would not even associate with a Jew who associated with Gentiles. A major theme in the Jewish literature of Paul's era was devoted to separation from Gentiles.[18] The Book of Jubilees demanded separation: 'Separate yourself from the nations, and eat not with them...for their works are unclean, and all their ways are a pollution and an abomination and an uncleanness' (22.16). According to the Epistle of Aristeas, Moses 'fenced us round with impregnable ramparts and walls of iron, that we might not mingle at all with any of the other nations, but remain pure in body and soul...he hedged us round on all sides by rules of purity, affecting alike what we eat, or drink, or touch, or hear, or see' (139, 142). And yet Paul's new identity in Christ gave him the capacity to transcend his racial identity as a Jew and to stand with Gentile brothers and sisters in Christ. He became as they were: he ate with them; he was one with them. On that basis he calls for them to become as he is: one who no longer seeks to define his identity primarily on racial, national, or social grounds, but one whose identity is determined by union with Christ and all who belong to Christ. After all, if Paul as a Jewish Christian was willing and able to be one with Gentiles, then it was clear that living like a Jew or like a Gentile was not what mattered. What mattered was living by faith in Christ.

Paul illustrated his identification with Gentile believers by his account of his confrontation with Peter and the rest of the Jewish believers for violating the truth of the gospel by withdrawing from table-fellowship with Gentile believers (2.11-21). They were more influenced by their common racial identity as Jews than by their new experience of unity with all believers in Christ. From Paul's perspective, Peter's separation from table-fellowship with Gentile Christians implied that the relationship of Gentile believers with God and with Jewish Christians depended on identification with the Jewish nation.[19] When Paul saw that Peter and the

18. See J.D.G. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (BNTC; London: A. & C. Black, 1993), pp. 119-20.

19. P. Richardson defends Peter's application of Paul's own principle of accommodation ('Pauline Inconsistency: I Corinthians 9.19-23 and Galatians 2.11-14', *NTS* [1980], pp. 347-62).

rest of the Jewish believers were not walking in accord with the truth of the gospel (οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσιν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, 2.14), he rebuked Peter for trying to force Gentile believers to become Jews (πῶς τὰ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζεις Ἰουδαίζειν;). The oneness of believers in Christ had been destroyed and the truth of the gospel had been negated because Christians had been more deeply influenced by their racial identity than by their identity and unity in Christ.

The social crisis in the church of Antioch was exactly the same as the crisis faced by the churches in Galatia: Gentile believers were being forced to live like Jews as the basis of unity in the church. Paul's solution to the social problem was his exposition of the gospel as seen in his own paradigmatic experience. If Paul and other Jewish Christians who were seeking to be justified in Christ were found to be sinners on the basis of the law for their practice of table-fellowship with Gentiles, that did not make Christ the agent of sin (2.17).[20] For the real transgression would be the reconstruction of the barrier of the law between Jews and Gentiles which had been removed in Christ (2.18).[21] But Paul refused to reconstruct the barrier of the law between Jews and Gentiles because he had died to the law in his experience of the cross of Christ (2.19). The only way to maintain the unity of all believers in Christ is to declare with Paul Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι! ('I am crucified with Christ!') Only when believers become like Paul in his experience of the cross will they know what it is to die to the law so that they can then live to God (2.19) by the presence of the indwelling Christ (2.20). So Paul's initial request is simple: 'Become like me!'

2. *The Subscription in 6.11-18*

Epistolary analysis has highlighted the importance of the conclusions of letters. From his survey of subscriptions in common Hellenistic letters, G. Bahr concludes that the subscription served as an opportunity for the signatory to recapitulate the cardinal points of the letter.[22] By giving the

20. See J. Lambrecht, 'The Line of Thought in Gal. 2.14b-21', *NTS* (1978), pp. 486-95.

21. See J. Ziesler, *The Meaning of Righteousness in Paul: A Linguistic and Theological Inquiry* (SNTSMS, 20; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 173: 'The real sin is not the infringing the law, but in disloyalty to Christ and to the new way of acceptability in and through him'.

22. G.J. Bahr, 'The Subscriptions in the Pauline Letters', *JBL* 87 (1968), p. 35.

summary in his own hand, the signatory made the contents of the document his own. According to Betz, Paul's conclusion in 6.11-18 'contains the interpretative clues to the understanding of Paul's major concerns in the letter as a whole and should be employed as the hermeneutical key to the intentions of the Apostle'.[23] Paul himself draws attention to the significance of his concluding paragraph by writing it with large letters in his own hand (6.11).

If Paul's initial request in 4.12 ('Become like me!') is a major concern of Paul, then we should expect that Paul would conclude the letter by presenting his own experience as a paradigm for the Galatians to follow. In fact, that is just what we find. Paul's paradigmatic experience of the gospel is recapitulated in his conclusion: ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ γένοιτο καυχᾶσθαι εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ ἐμοὶ κόσμος ἐσταύρωται κἀγὼ κόσμῳ (6.14). ('But may it never be that I should boast except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, through which the world has been crucified to me and I to the world', 6.14). For Paul the experience of the gospel was conceived in apocalyptic terms: it was the end of the world for him. The end of the world, Paul explains in 6.15, means an end of the significance of circumcision and uncircumcision, for now there is a new creation. The old world order was structured by the opposition of circumcised and uncircumcised, slave and free, male and female. But that world was overthrown by the cross of Christ. In the new creation there is no longer the opposition of Jew and Gentile, slave and free, male and female, for all are one in Christ (3.28).[24]

Paul's use of apocalyptic language here about the death of the cosmos obviously does not refer to the end of the space–time universe. N.T. Wright has cogently argued that 'there is no justification for seeing "apocalyptic" as necessarily speaking of the "end of the world" in a literally cosmic sense...An end to the present world order, yes...The end of the space-time world, no...We must read most apocalyptic literature, both Jewish and Christian, as a complex metaphor-system which invests space-time reality with its full, that is, its theological, significance'.[25] Paul's apocalyptic metaphor of the crucifixion of the world expressed

23. Betz, *Galatians*, p. 313.

24. J.L. Martyn, 'Apocalyptic Antinomies in Paul's Letters to the Galatians', *NTS* 31 (1985), pp. 410-24.

25. See N.T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), pp. 298-99.

the reality of his own experience of the cross of Christ. His personal reference, ἐμοί ('to me') points to a radical change in his own person. He no longer identified himself on the basis of racial or social polarities such as circumcision or uncircumcision. He contrasted himself to those in the old world order who placed such supreme importance on racial distinctive (6.13-14).

But we should not infer from Paul's personal reference to his own experience of the cross that he was using apocalyptic language only to describe his own individual, private world. Certainly his own worldview changed. But his language speaks of more than simply a change of his personal perspective. Paul speaks of three crosses: he boasts in 'the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ'; the crucifixion of the world to Paul and the crucifixion of Paul to the world are derivative consequences of the cross of Christ.[26] Paul's focus is on the apocalyptic event of the cross of Christ. Through his participation in that apocalyptic event, the world has been crucified to Paul. The perfect tense of the verb ἐσταύρωται ('has been crucified') points to a permanent change: the crucifixion of the world cannot be reversed for Paul; he no longer lives in the world where the distinctions of race—circumcision and uncircumcision—are of supreme importance and where boasting in the flesh (vv. 13-14) is the primary preoccupation; from now he lives in the 'new creation' (v. 15) where there is a whole new order of relationships. No wonder Richard Hays hears 'echoes' of Isa. 65.17 in Paul's reference to the new creation.[27] 'For behold, I create new heavens and a new earth; and the former things shall not be remembered or come to mind' (Isa. 65.17). Through the cross of Christ, Paul was separated from the old world by the death of that world and by his own death. And through the cross of Christ, Paul was ushered into the new world, the new creation. Martyn observes that 'the motif of the triple crucifixion—that of Christ, that of the cosmos, and that of Paul—reflects the fact that through the whole of Galatians the focus of Paul's apocalyptic lies not on Christ's parousia, but rather on his death'.[28] Despite Beker's claim that 'the Christocentric focus of Galatians pushes Paul's theocentric apocalyptic theme to the

26. P. Minear, 'The Crucified World: The Enigma of Gal. 6.14', in C. Andersen and G. Klein (eds.), *Theologia Crucis–Signum Crucis: Festschrift für Erich Dinkler*, (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1979), pp. 395-407.

27. Hays, *Echoes*, p. 159.

28. Martyn, 'Apocalyptic Antinomies in Galatians', p. 420.

periphery',[29] the cross appears throughout Galatians as the apocalyptic event where the cosmic triumph of God has already taken place.

Paul's personal experience of the end of the world through the cross and of the new creation is set forth as a paradigm, a 'rule' for the whole community of believers. 'Whoever will walk by this rule' (καὶ ὅσοι τῷ κανόνι τούτῳ στοιχήσουσιν) will be blessed with peace and mercy (6.16).

From the vantage point of Paul's initial request in 4.12 we can see that Paul's first person expression of his own experience of the gospel in his concluding paragraph of the letter (6.14-16) is a final restatement of his original request—'Become like me!' Paul has presented his experience of the apocalypse as a paradigm for all believers to imitate. Here we have an 'interpretative clue' to give us help in understanding Paul's apocalyptic conception of the gospel in the rest of his letter.

3. *The Salutation (1.1-5)*

Paul expands the standard form (sender, addressee, greetings) in his letter to the Galatians with strong statements regarding his commission as an apostle (1.1) and the death of Christ (1.4). His unusual interruption of the opening greetings and departure from the normal form with these two statements highlights their importance. In his assertion that he was commissioned as an apostle by 'Jesus Christ and God the Father who raised him from the dead' (1.1), Paul expresses his new understanding of God, in contrast to his pre-Christian beliefs, as the God who raised Jesus from the dead. Of course, the Jewish apocalyptic worldview anticipated that the present age would end in death and the new age would begin with resurrection. But now in the resurrection of Jesus Christ, the triumph over death has already begun; the new age has dawned.[30] 'By implication', Dunn comments, 'those to whom the resurrected Christ revealed himself could share of the power of that new age, some of the life which had defeated death'.[31] Paul's commission by Jesus Christ whom God the Father had raised from the dead brought Paul into a personal experience of the life and the power of the new creation.

29. J.C. Beker, *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1980), p. 58.

30. J.D.G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 47.

31. Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 29.

In his description of the purpose of the death of Jesus (1.4), Paul employs an apocalyptic metaphor: ὅπως ἐξέληται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πονηροῦ ('that he might rescue us from the present evil age'). From the perspective of the Jewish apocalyptic framework the present age dominated by evil would be followed by the future age under the rule of God. In Paul's experience, the rescue operation from the present evil age began in the death of Jesus and continues in the participation of believers in the benefits of that death.

Paul's expansion of his opening greetings with references to his appointment to apostleship by Jesus, whom God the Father raised from the dead, and his deliverance from the present evil age by Jesus, who gave himself for our sins, introduces the major theme of the entire letter: Paul's personal participation in the gospel—the death and resurrection of Jesus—was a participation in the apocalypse, the intervention of God within history which brought to an end the old world order and brought into being the new creation.

It is helpful to sketch out how the theme of the gospel as found in the salutation is developed in the letter. The spotlight is kept on the gospel in the section immediately after the salutation. Although Paul asserts his divine appointment in 1.1, the opening expression of rebuke (1.6-10) is not, as might have been expected, a direct development of his claim to apostolic authority. Paul moves instead to rebuke the Galatian believers for defection from the true gospel and pronounces an anathema on all who pervert the gospel. Paul includes himself under the curse against those who pervert the gospel (1.8). The gospel takes precedence over the apostle. Schütz correctly asserts that 'because the gospel is singular and takes precedence, both Paul and the community can be subordinated to it. Paul can preach only what he has already preached, and the community can receive only what it has already received. The gospel is thus a double-sided norm—for preaching and for receiving. It is the norm for faith and the norm for apostleship. By virtue of their dependence on, and the need for their obedience to, the one gospel, faith and apostleship are brought into the closest possible relationship'.[32] It was precisely Paul's subordination to the standard of the gospel that validated his own apostleship and inspired the faith of the community.

The main theme of Paul's autobiography is not primarily a defence of apostolic authority as many have supposed, but a defence of the ultimate

32. J.H. Schütz, *Paul and the Anatomy of Apostolic Authority* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 123.

authority of the gospel. Lategan is at least partly right when he concludes that 'far from focusing on Paul, his apostleship and authority, Galatians has as subject the remarkable gospel... Both the experience of Paul and the Galatians conform to the unexpected and liberating nature of the gospel and it is to this gospel οὐ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον to which he wants them to return'.[33] Lategan is not right when he says that Paul does not focus on himself. Paul does focus on himself to a considerable extent in his autobiography, but only as a way of demonstrating his conformity to the gospel. In 1.1-12, the gospel (εὐαγγέλιον) is the main topic (1.6; 1.7 [2×]; 1.9; 1.11 [2×]), while the title ἀπόστολος is used only in 1.1. In the entire letter, 'apostle' is mentioned only four times,[34] while the word 'gospel' and its derivatives occurs fourteen times.[35] Paul set forth the gospel as the authority to which an angel from heaven and he himself (1.8), the false brothers (2.4-5), the 'pillars' of the church (2.9), and even Peter himself (2.14) are all to be subordinated and held accountable. Whoever perverts the gospel by word or action is under a curse (1.8-9), must be resisted (2.5) and rebuked (2.11-14).

After establishing the 'truth of the gospel' as the touchstone of genuine authority in his autobiography, Paul sets forth his scriptural exposition of the nature of the gospel. He interprets the Abraham story in such a way as to undergird the gospel which he received and preached, and so provides a biblical basis for his own authority. Only after his authority is firmly grounded in his autobiographical account of his own loyalty to the gospel and in his exposition of the Abraham story does Paul then make his appeal for the allegiance of the Galatian believers (4.12-20). Even then, however, Paul first gives an allegorical interpretation of the Hagar story (4.21-31) before finally announcing in a clear, authoritative tone his decision regarding their case: 'Behold, I, Paul, say to you...' (5.2).

If Paul's appeal for his converts' allegiance (4.12) and his apostolic decree (5.2) had followed directly after his salutation, it would have been clear that Paul based his authority on his apostolic appointment (1.1). Such a basis, however, would have left him at a severe disadvantage with respect to those whose priority and popularity could not be challenged. Paul, therefore, responds to the conflict between authorities

33. B. Lategan, 'Is Paul Defending his Apostleship in Galatians?', *NTS* 34 (1988), p. 430.

34. 1.1; 1.17; 1.19; 2.8.

35. 1.6; 1.7; 1.8 [2×]; 1.9; 1.11 [2×]; 1.16; 1.23; 2.2; 2.5; 2.7; 2.14; 4.13.

by arguing that the gospel is the only final standard of authority. In his autobiography and in his interpretation of the Abraham story, he seeks to demonstrate his faithfulness to this standard, in contrast to those who deviated from it. Paul's personal participation in the apocalyptic events of the gospel provides the foundation for all his appeals and decrees.

4. *The Disclosure Statement at 1.11-12*

Some kind of disclosure statement often serves as a transition from the opening of the letter into the body of the letter (1 Thess. 1.5; 1 Cor. 1.11; 2 Cor. 1.8; Rom. 1.13; Phil. 1.12).[36] After his opening rebuke of 1.6-10, Paul moves into the body of the letter with a disclosure formula: 'For I want you to know, brothers...' (Γνωρίζω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, 1.11). In Paul's disclosure of the nature and origin of the gospel he uses the same 'not...nor, but' structure as he used in his affirmation of his apostolic commission in 1.1. His denial of any human origin for the gospel he preached (1.11-12) is parallel to his denial of any human origin of his apostleship (1.1). Yet another double denial of dependence on human direction and an affirmation of a revelatory call to his Gentile mission is found in 1.15-17. As Betz notes, there are parallels to this 'not...nor, but' construction in Jewish traditions of the call of a prophet.[37] Amos affirmed his prophetic appointment in similar terms: 'I am not a prophet, nor am I the son of a prophet; for I am a herdsman and a grower of sycamore figs. But the Lord took me from following the flock and the Lord said to me, "Go and prophesy to my people Israel"' (Amos 7.14-15). Even the denial of a prophetic call is expressed in a similar form: 'Then the Lord said to me, "The prophets are prophesying in my name. I have neither sent them nor commanded them nor spoken to them" (Jer. 14.14). "I did not send these prophets, but they ran. I did not speak to them but they prophesied"' (Jer. 23.21).

Paul's sense of his prophetic call is clarified when we compare his description of his own call to his Gentile mission and the call of the Hebrew prophets:

36. J.T. Sanders, 'The Transition from Opening Epistolary Thanksgiving to Body in the Letters of the Pauline Corpus', *JBL* 81 (1962), pp. 348-62; T.Y. Mullins, 'Disclosure as a Literary Form in the New Testament', *NovT* 7 (1964), pp. 144-50.

37. Betz, *Galatians*, p. 38 n. 19.

> But when God, who had set me apart before I was born and called me though his grace, was pleased to reveal his Son to me, so that I might proclaim him among the Gentiles...(1.15-16)

The Lord called me from the womb; from the body of my mother he named me...' (Isa. 49.1). 'Now the word of the Lord came to me saying, "Before I formed you in the womb, I knew you, and before you were born I consecrated you; I have appointed you a prophet to the nations"' (Jer. 1.4-5).

Paul's references to his experience of 'revelation' (1.12, 16; 2.2) also draws attention to his prophetic stance. His gospel message was not received by human tradition but through 'the revelation of Jesus Christ' (δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ). As a prophet spoke with revelational immediacy when he said, 'The Lord says', so Paul spoke out of his personal encounter with the risen Lord. Paul's expression in 1.12 'describes Jesus Christ as the one who has revealed Himself and made him His apostle, this revelation being an act of God's grace'.[38]

Paul places the revelation of Jesus Christ within the perspective of salvation-history in 3.23: 'Now before faith came, we were imprisoned and guarded under law until faith would be revealed'. Paul's point here is that the faith of Christians radically altered their relation to the law. Since 'Christ's coming actualises faith'[39] which releases believers from imprisonment under the law, Paul can speak of the coincidence of the revealing of faith and the coming of Christ. The parallel phrases 'until faith would be revealed' (εἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν πίστιν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι, 3.23) and 'until Christ' (εἰς Χριστόν, 3.24) point to the same event in history: the revelation of Christ and as a result the revelation of faith. Paul's use of the verb ἀποκαλυφθῆναι('to be revealed') borrows from the language of 'technical apocalyptic terminology' and has 'the sense both of heavenly unveiling and climatic turning point in the divine purpose'.[40] Paul's participation in that apocalyptic event occurred when 'God was pleased to reveal (ἀποκαλύψαι) his son' in him (1.16). The revelation Paul received was more than the revelation received by the prophets of old. They were given the promise; Paul was given the revelation of the Son 'in the fullness of time' (4.4). They looked forward to the end; Paul experienced the end of the world and the new creation—the eschatological climax of

38. W. Grundmann, 'χρίω κτλ.', *TDNT*, IX, p. .551.
39. Beker, *Paul*, p. 56.
40. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul's Letter to the Galatians*, p. 48.

God's purpose in history. He became a paradigm of the apocalypse for the church to follow.

5. *Conclusion*

When we use the most prominent points of the rebuke–request structure of Paul's letter to the Galatians as vantage points from which to view the rest of the letter, we are given a fresh perspective of the purpose that each part of the letter serves to accomplish Paul's objectives. Most significant of all is the way Paul constructs the rebuke section of the letter (1.6–4.11) to prepare the way for his initial request for the Galatian believers to imitate his example (4.12). Both Paul's story (1.11-21) and the Abraham story (3.6–4.11) establish a pattern of faith in Christ for Gentile believers to follow so that they can participate in the promised blessing. The focus of the subscription (6.11-18) on Paul's end-of-the-world and new-creation experience by his identification with the cross of Christ shows us that Paul's example for the Galatian believers is a demonstration of the way to bring about the abolition of the old world order of divisions between races ('circumcision and uncircumcision') and the inauguration of the new creation of unity in Christ through the personal appropriation of the cross of Christ. The salutation (1.1-5) places special emphasis on Paul's participation in the resurrection power of Christ (1.1) and Christ's rescue operation from the 'present evil age' through his cross (1.4). This theme is developed in Paul's story of his defence of the 'truth of the gospel' (2.5, 14) to protect the freedom of Gentile believers from the obligations of the law. The disclosure statement which introduces Paul's autobiography asserts that the origin of the gospel is the revelation of Jesus Christ (1.11-12), a revelation given by God to Paul so that he would preach the gospel of Christ to the Gentiles (1.16).

All of these elements of the rebuke–request structure of Galatians point in the same direction: they feature Paul's participation in the apocalypse of Jesus Christ which guarantees the inclusion of Gentile believers in the people of God. The emphasis on the apocalyptic event of the cross has a social purpose: to protect the freedom and unity of all believers in the new creation in Christ. Paul presents himself as a paradigm of the apocalypse.

THE GOSPEL AND ITS RHETORIC IN GALATIANS

Frank W. Hughes

Τὸ εὐαγγέλιον and the words related to it are important parts of Paul's letter to the Galatians and its ancient and contemporary meanings. To my knowledge, there has not yet been a study devoted totally to how 'gospel' functions rhetorically within Galatians. In this article I hope to fill such a gap. It is a special pleasure for me to include this study among other essays dedicated to searching out the meanings of the 'gospel in Paul' in the four *Hauptbriefe* of Paul, and especially because this collection of essays is in honour of Professor Longenecker, a distinguished exegete and interpreter of Paul, not to mention the author of a fine commentary on Galatians.

1. *Rhetorical Criticism and the Genus of Galatians*

Several rhetorical critics (as well as others who are likely to identify themselves as form critics) have produced rhetorical analyses of letters, often consisting of a summary of rhetorical features of the letter in either tabular or outline form. In addition to Galatians, letters such as Philemon,[1] 2 Thessalonians,[2] 1 Thessalonians, Philippians,[3] 1 and 2 Corinthians (based on partition theories[4] or the canonical form), and

1. F.F. Church, 'Rhetorical Structure and Design in Paul's Letter to Philemon', *HTR* 71 (1978), pp. 17-33.

2. F.W. Hughes, *Early Christian Rhetoric and 2 Thessalonians* (JSNTSup 30; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989).

3. D.F. Watson, 'A Rhetorical Analysis of Philippians', *NovT* 30 (1988), pp. 57-88.

4. F.W. Hughes, 'The Rhetoric of Reconciliation: 2 Cor 1.1–2.13 and 7.5–8.24', in D.F. Watson (ed.), *Persuasive Artistry: Studies in New Testament Rhetoric in Honor of G.A. Kennedy* (JSNTSup 50; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), pp. 246-61.

Romans (both Romans as a whole[5] and Romans 9),[6] along with 2 Peter and Jude,[7] have all been the subject of rhetorical analysis, with varying degrees of convergence of opinion among rhetorical critics.[8]

It is surely no secret that one of the areas in which there has been a considerable amount of disagreement among critics (both rhetorical critics and critics of rhetorical criticism!) has been the whole matter of the determination of the *genus* (or genre) of rhetoric of those early Christian letters under our investigation. One of the pioneering studies in rhetorical criticism was of course Betz's commentary on Galatians,[9] which argued in favour of Galatians as an 'apologetic letter', a letter in the *genus* of forensic or judicial rhetoric (*genus iudiciale*),[10] which has been given very spirited *Auseinandersetzungen* by G.A. Kennedy,[11]

5. R. Jewett, 'Following the Argument of Romans', in K.P. Donfried (ed.), *The Romans Debate: Revised and Expanded Edition* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991), pp. 265-77; D.E. Aune, 'Romans as a *Logos Protrepticos*', in Donfried, *The Romans Debate*, pp. 278-96.

6. D.E. Mesner, 'The Rhetoric of Citations: Paul's Use of Scripture in Romans 9' (PhD dissertation, Northwestern University, Joint Garrett/Northwestern Program, 1991).

7. D.F. Watson, *Invention, Arrangement, and Style: Rhetorical Criticism of Jude and 2 Peter* (SBLDS 104; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988).

8. For further examples of rhetorical analyses of NT letters, see especially the indispensable book by D.F. Watson and A.J. Hauser, *Rhetorical Criticism of the Bible: A Comprehensive Bibliography with Notes on History and Method* (Biblical Interpretation Series, 4; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), pp. 178-202. See also the new book of essays from the Conference on Rhetorical Criticism of the Bible: *Rhetoric and the New Testament: Essays from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference* (ed. S.E. Porter and T.H. Olbricht; JSNTSup 90; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993). These two books represent very well the 'state of the art' in rhetorical criticism of the NT at the present time.

9. H.D. Betz, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979).

10. See Betz, *Galatians*, pp. 14-29, especially p. 29.

11. G.A. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), pp. 144-52.

12. F. Vouga, 'Zur rhetorischen Gattung des Galaterbriefes', *ZNW* 75 (1984), pp. 291-92.

13. G. Lyons, *Pauline Autobiography: Towards a New Understanding* (SBLDS 73; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985).

14. R.G. Hall, 'The Rhetorical Outline for Galatians: A Reconsideration', *JBL* 106 (1987), pp. 277-87.

F. Vouga,[12] G. Lyons,[13] R.G. Hall,[14] J. Smit,[15] G.W. Hansen,[16] R.N. Longenecker,[17] C.D. Stanley,[18] and J. Schoon-Janssen.[19] An analogous listing of names could be made to illustrate the disagreement on the *genus* of 1 Thessalonians, with B.C. Johanson arguing in favour of deliberative rhetoric, G.A. Kennedy having suggested judicial rhetoric, and R. Jewett, C.A. Wanamaker, W. Wuellner and I arguing in favour of epideictic rhetoric.[20] A similar debate would appear to be in the offing for Romans with R. Jewett arguing for epideictic rhetoric in the article cited above and in his forthcoming Hermeneia commentary on Romans. While space will not permit me to go into the details of the argument by each of these scholars, I would like to begin this article by offering my own suggestion as to the causes of the difficulties in identifying the rhetorical *genus* of NT letters.

First of all, it must be specified that, like the sources for our knowledge of St. Paul, the sources for our knowledge of Greek and Latin rhetoric are diverse; and the focus on some of those sources (rather than others) does cause modern scholars to have and develop different understandings of what Greek and Latin rhetoric were. I believe our most important source of the theory of Graeco-Roman rhetoric is the

15. J. Smit, 'The Letter of Paul to the Galatians: A Deliberative Speech', *NTS* 35 (1989), pp. 1-26.

16. G.W. Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians: Epistolary and Rhetorical Contexts* (JSNTSup 29; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989).

17. R.N. Longenecker, *Galatians* (WBC 41; Dallas: Word Books, 1990).

18. C.D. Stanley, '"Under a Curse": A Fresh Reading of Galatians 3.10-14', *NTS* 36 (1990), pp. 481-511.

19. J. Schoon-Janssen, *Umstrittene 'Apologien' in den Paulusbriefen: Studien zur rhetorischen Situation des 1. Thessalonicherbriefes, des Galaterbriefes und des Philipperbriefes* (Göttinger Theologische Arbeiten 45; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), pp. 70-82.

20. B.C. Johanson, *To All the Brethren: A Text-Linguistic and Rhetorical Approach to 1 Thessalonians* (ConBNT 16; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1987); G.A. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation*, pp. 142-44; R. Jewett, *The Thessalonian Correspondence: Pauline Rhetoric and Millenarian Piety* (FFNT; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989); C.A. Wanamaker, *The Epistles to the Thessalonians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans; Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1990), pp. 46-47; W. Wuellner, 'The Argumentative Structure of 1 Thessalonians as Paradoxical Encomium', in R.F. Collins (ed.), *The Thessalonian Correspondence* (BETL 87; Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 1990), pp. 117-36; F.W. Hughes, 'The Rhetoric of 1 Thessalonians', in R.F. Collins (ed.), *Thessalonian Correspondence*, pp. 94-116.

rhetorical handbook tradition. Although Aristotle's *On Rhetoric* has no claim to be the earliest of the rhetorical handbooks (since it made use of rules of rhetoric already common in rhetorical instruction), it has been one of the most celebrated books on rhetoric throughout the centuries. It is instructive to note the connections between the three *genera* of rhetoric as advised in Aristotle's *On Rhetoric*. He notes that the kinds (εἴδη) of rhetoric are three in number (1.2.3), corresponding to the three types of hearers. By hearers Aristotle indicates the social setting of the three εἴδη of rhetoric. Aristotle makes in 1.3.4 his famous distinction between the three *genera* of rhetoric on the basis of time: 'Each of these has its own "time": for the deliberative speaker, the future (for whether exhorting or dissuading he advises about future events); for the speaker in court, the past (for he always prosecutes or defends concerning what has been done); in epideictic the present is the most important; for all speakers praise or blame in regard to existing qualities, but they often also make use of other things, both reminding [the audience] of the past and projecting the course of the future'.[21] Aristotle immediately went on to impose yet another philosophical distinction on the three *genera* of rhetoric: the fact that each of the three *genera* of rhetoric have a particular τέλος in view (1.3.5). 'The "end" of each of these is different, and there are three ends for three [species]: for the deliberative speaker [the end] is the advantageous [*sympheron*] and the harmful (for someone urging something advises it as the better course and one dissuading dissuades on the ground that it is worse), and he includes other factors as incidental: whether it is just or unjust, or honorable or disgraceful; for those speaking in the law courts [the end] is the just [*dikaion*] and the unjust, and they make other considerations incidental to these; for those praising and blaming [the end] is the honorable [*kalon*] and the shameful, and these speakers bring up other considerations in reference to these qualities'.[22] What Aristotle did in this passage was to indicate a clear ranking of topics to be used in deliberative rhetoric: the topics of justice and honour are to be used in such a way that the topic of advantage outranks them. From many sources we are familiar with the use of honour as a deliberative topic, along with advantage. The idea that advantage is to outrank honour is hardly surprising to those who have read many deliberative speeches.

21. The English translation is that by G.A. Kennedy in Aristotle, *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 48.

22. Aristotle, *On Rhetoric* 1.3.4 (ET by Kennedy, pp. 48-49).

Aristotle's insertion of the topic of justice in his discussion of deliberative rhetoric, however, is extremely significant. It shows that Aristotle envisions a kind of overlapping of topics of rhetoric, even though he clearly is dependent on tradition when he uses advantage and honour as the primary deliberative topics, as well as the just and the unjust in his discussion of judicial rhetoric. Elsewhere in *On Rhetoric* he says more about the overlapping of the topics of rhetoric. In 3.14.12 he goes so far as to state, 'The prooemia of deliberative rhetoric are copied from those of judicial, but in the nature of the case there is very little need for them',[23] meaning that judicial rhetoric can supply exordia to deliberative rhetoric, though a deliberative speech often does not need an exordium.

These few examples from Aristotle serve to show that, either in the rhetorical tradition Aristotle had received, or in Aristotle's reformulation of that tradition (or both), Aristotle did not envision unalterable distinctions among the three *genera* of rhetoric. He clearly stated in 3.14.12 that a *pars orationis* common to one *genus* of rhetoric might be found in another, confirming what was said in 1.3.5. Yet in Aristotle's understanding of rhetoric, the topic of advantage should be used as the primary topic in deliberative rhetoric, and even the standard deliberative topic of honour is to play second fiddle to advantage. In the context of another statement about *dispositio* in Aristotle, especially the fact that although a *narratio* is uncommon in deliberative rhetoric, that type of speech may indeed have one (3.16.16), one gets the definite impression that the major way that one can distinguish among *genera* of rhetoric, other than time, is through the use of standard or primary topics in the speech itself. I suggest that it would be methodologically more sound to determine the rhetorical *genus* of a discourse *after* one has done an analysis of topics used in the discourse, rather than before. I also suggest that these statements about the *dispositio* in the three *genera* of rhetoric should lead us contemporary rhetorical critics to be rather skeptical about the necessity of assigning a single rhetorical *genus* to a discourse. Our assignment of a single *genus* of rhetoric may have a certain validity in our own eyes, but in the light of the aforementioned statements by Aristotle, it may not have been something than an actual orator or rhetorical writer may have done in every case. Thus I would say that the *genus* of rhetoric will always be very significant for rhetorical criticism, but it needs to be determined with great care and with serious attention

23. Aristotle, *On Rhetoric* 3.14.12 (ET by Kennedy, p. 265, where this passage is identified as part of 3.14.11).

to the possible existence of rhetorical features which are typical to more than one *genus* of rhetoric, as far as rhetorical theory is concerned. Hence I find myself sympathetic to both Hansen's monograph and Longenecker's commentary on Galatians, which deal seriously with the existence of features from both judicial and deliberative rhetoric in that letter.

2. *'Gospel' and the* Dispositio *of Galatians*

Perhaps the most surprising of all the features of the rhetoric of Galatians is the fact that 'gospel' is taken up very prominently in the exordium of the letter in 1.11, yet in the *probatio* of the letter (in my analysis, Gal. 3.1–4.11) neither the noun εὐαγγέλιον nor the verb εὐαγγελίζομαι can be found. This is quite striking, because rhetorical theory leads us to expect that the exordium of a rhetorical discourse would briefly mention the major subjects of a discourse which would then be taken up and dealt with directly in the *probatio*. We would further expect the possibility that some of these points might be mentioned in the *partitio* or *propositio*, before the *probatio*. And we would have reason to expect that the major subjects of the *probatio* would be recapitulated in the peroratio. Yet εὐαγγέλιον only appears in Gal. 1.6, 7, 11; 2.2, 5, 7, 14, so that its final occurrence in Galatians is in 2.14, the final verse of the *narratio*. The verb εὐαγγελίζομαι occurs only in Gal. 1.8, 9, 11, 16, 23; 4.13. Hence the occurrences of εὐαγγέλιον and εὐαγγελίζομαι are absent from the *probatio* and strongly concentrated in the *exordium* and the *narratio*. Before one could decide on the real importance of εὐαγγέλιον and εὐαγγελίζομαι to the mainstream of the argument in Galatians, one would have to come to some understanding of how these two words were used in the *exordium* and the *narratio*.

The occurrences of εὐαγγέλιον and εὐαγγελίζομαι in 1.6-9 (the exordium being 1.1-10 in Longenecker's analysis) are, I think, easy to categorize as part of a polemical description of Paul's εὐαγγέλιον as the right one; in fact Gal. 1.7 says that Paul's εὐαγγέλιον is the only one that is the authentic εὐαγγέλιον. Any phenomenon that purports to be εὐαγγέλιον, which is fundamentally different from Paul's, is strictly a pretender and not the real thing. So in these four verses in which these two words occur, out of the whole of the ten verses of the exordium, the subject of what might be called 'authentic εὐαγγέλιον

versus inauthentic εὐαγγέλιον' is briefly yet quite repeatedly introduced. We would not expect this subject to be developed at great length in the exordium. Yet the effect of these four verses must not be underestimated. They are the four verses which immediately follow the epistolary prescript, exactly where one would expect Paul to state the major subject or subjects of the letter. Gal. 1.6 begins pointedly with θαυμάζω and 1.9 ends with even greater rhetorical force with the curse ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. Thus Paul has chosen generally to ignore the typical exordial function of acquiring the good will of the audience of this letter, in favour of making a frankly jarring introduction of his subject. In these four verses, I can find no trace of the customary politeness and diplomacy with which the exordia of other Pauline letters are packed rather too full. Paul's normal exaggeration of positive personal sentiments and the worldwide fame of the virtues of the addressees of the letter is abandoned in favour of Paul's personal amazement at the fact that the Galatian churches have 'so quickly' (1.6) departed from the true gospel, the only one that really exists.

Most importantly, Paul establishes in his exordium an inescapable dichotomy between the real gospel which brings the message of salvation in Christ and the false gospel, upon whose preachers Paul pronounces a curse not just once but twice (1.8 and 1.9). The exordium ends in 1.10 by Paul's rhetorical questions about whom he is seeking to persuade or please, God or human beings. Both of the alternative answers which Paul proposes are ironic if not downright strange in this context. An omnipotent God cannot be persuaded by human rhetoric; and as Betz has noted, this suggestion by Paul is a 'polemical definition of magic and religious quackery'.[24] The other alternative is that Paul claims to be 'pleasing human beings', which of course he can hardly be doing in this letter. It is extremely ironic for Paul to ask whether he is successfully persuading human beings, just a very few verses after he has prominently omitted the thanksgiving prayer in this letter and in place of which has pronounced a divine curse twice on his opponents, some of which surely included the readers and hearers of this letter! This is hardly the way to do an acceptable *captatio benevolentiae*. Nevertheless 1.10 functions also as a transitional verse for two reasons. When we think of the function of introducing the subjects of the discourse in the exordium, it is easy to identify three basic subjects in 1.10. First, 1.1-5 begins with Paul and his apostolic authority which was

24. Betz, *Galatians*, p. 35, n. 108.

'not from a human being nor through a human being but through Jesus Christ and God the Father' (1.1), followed by more material in 1.2-5 having to do with Christ. The subject shifts, quite radically to be sure, in 1.6-9, to the gospel and the fact that the Galatian churches have departed from the true one and accepted a gospel that is not the gospel at all. The major rhetorical function of 1.10 is to shift the subjects mentioned in the exordium back to Paul and his ministry. So 1.10 points backward to 1.1-5 and also forward to the *narratio* of 1.11–2.14, as identified by Longenecker.

The other occurrences of εὐαγγέλιον and εὐαγγελίζομαι (with the single exception of εὐαγγελίζομαι in 4.13) are found in the *narratio* of Galatians. The most important occurrence of 'gospel' is at 1.11: τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ. This verse, following immediately after the transitional verse 1.10, is the introductory verse of a long and rhetorically well crafted *narratio*. The disclosure formula γνωρίζω γὰρ ὑμῖν announces 'the gospel which was preached by me', which is the major subject of the *narratio*. What Paul does in the rest of the *narratio* is to tell his readers and hearers a 'statement of facts' that will be crafted to show that the gospel is not κατὰ ἄνθρωπον, 'merely human'. This is in perfect harmony with what was mentioned in the exordium in three places. In 1.1 Paul asserted that his apostleship was not either from human beings or through human beings (cf. 1.12); and in 1.6-7 Paul asserts that there is no other gospel other than the one preached by him. What Paul does, then, in the *narratio* is to explicate at some length the fact that he got the gospel directly from God, without human intervention or agency. The negative corollary of what Paul shows in the *narratio* is that anything that masquerades as the gospel simply is not truly the gospel, no matter by whom it was preached (1.8). Bernard Lategan, in an extremely thoughtful article, has said correctly that '[a]fter 1.11-12, [Paul] is offering two "case studies" to illustrate the claim that the gospel is not κατὰ ἄνθρωπον. The use of narrative is very suitable for this purpose. What Paul is talking about is not only theory, but can be illustrated in real life. And the examples he chooses do not come from his experience alone—he draws them from all possible sources. In fact, only the first has to do with Paul exclusively—the second actually is an illustration from Peter's life'.[25] In other words,

25. B. Lategan, 'Is Paul Defending his Apostleship in Galatians? The Function of Galatians 1.11-12 and 2.19-20 in the Development of Paul's Argument', *NTS* 34 (1988), pp. 411-30; the quotation is from pp. 424-25.

the *narratio* of Galatians illustrates with concrete examples Paul's assertion of the divine origin of the gospel.

The illustrations in the *narratio* give details for the readers and hearers of Galatians to consider. I do not need to give a full survey of these details here, except to show how 'gospel' is involved in the *narratio*. In 1.15-16 Paul asserts his own apostolic authority, claiming special revelation. This included the detail that 'God was pleased to reveal his Son ἐν ἐμοί' and that the purpose of this revelation was that Paul 'εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτόν among the Gentiles' (1.16). In 1.23 Paul includes yet another detail concerning his apostolic ministry, that he now 'εὐαγγελίζεται the faith he once persecuted'. In 2.7 Paul asserts that he has an apostolic ministry parallel and equal to that of Peter, so that Paul 'was entrusted with the gospel of the uncircumcision, just as Peter [was entrusted with the gospel] of the circumcision. In each of these cases, then, Paul has used 'gospel' in either a noun or verb form by way of describing what it is, especially including material as to how Paul received it. This illustrates the assertion that Paul's gospel is not a human one: Paul argues that it came directly from God.

Other material using the noun or verb for 'gospel' is also found in the *narratio*. Most notably Paul uses this terminology in two places which narrate events in the history of the gospel in the church. At the Jerusalem Conference of the apostles, Paul laid before the other apostles 'the gospel that I preach among the Gentiles' (2.2). Despite what is reported in Acts 15, the Jerusalem Conference must have been a very heated debate in which Paul participated fully, for he writes in Gal. 2.5 that he 'did not yield submission even for an hour, in order that the truth of the gospel might endure for you', implying among other thing that forces opposed to Paul's point of view did not hold 'the truth of the gospel', which illustrates Paul's statement in 1.7 that there is no (authentic) gospel other than his (1.7). A similar comment in the *narratio* is found at Gal. 2,14, where Paul gives his extremely negative judgment about those who kept away from table fellowship with Gentile Christians, publicly asking Peter the rhetorical question about the latter's belief and practice 'when I saw that they were not straightforward about the truth of the gospel'. It is impossible to disconnect a phrase such as 'the truth of the gospel' from implied or stated assertions that there are those who hold opinions or practices about the gospel which are untrue. The obvious *Sitz im Leben* of statements such as this is a rhetorical

situation where Paul believed he needed to make a polemical response to opponents.

The final occurrence of 'gospel' in Galatians is in 4.13 where Paul 'preached the gospel to you at first because of a bodily ailment', evidently meaning that it was a physical illness that caused Paul to be in Galatia or to remain in Galatia long enough to evangelize those who became the Galatian churches.

How is 'gospel' used by Paul in Galatians? It is used in a variety of ways. Especially important is the fact that 'gospel' can be used to mean a variety of things. The verb εὐαγγελίζομαι can mean doing the activities that take place in the founding of a church (Paul would probably add: by an apostle), as it does in Gal. 1.16, 23 and 4.13. These activities presumably including preaching, teaching and other pastoral activities. More interesting are the occurrences of εὐαγγέλιον in 1.6, 11 and 2.7 where Paul uses this noun in the context of comparison of his gospel versus the gospel of other Christian evangelists. In 1.11 Paul says that his gospel is not a human one, clearly related to 1.7 where any gospel different from his is not really the gospel. Paradoxically, Paul's narration of the Jerusalem Conference includes in 2.7 his paralleling of his gospel with that of Peter, targeted at the uncircumcised and the circumcised, respectively. For the rhetorical critic (perhaps also for quite a few other critics!) the most interesting occurrences of εὐαγγέλιον are those in Gal. 2.5, 14, in which Paul makes a frankly polemical attack on other persons and their practice of the Christian faith (though Paul would probably protest that they were not Christians at all, cf. Gal. 1.6-7) as part of the phrase 'the truth of the gospel'.

3. *Conclusion: 'Gospel' in Galatians Compared with 'Gospel' in 1 Thessalonians*

I hope that I may be permitted to say a few words about the transition that the reader of the NT must make between the historical situation of 1 Thessalonians (which I hold to be the earliest of the extant Pauline letters) and that of Galatians. With the letter to the Galatians, which is still a relatively early letter of Paul, most likely written not long after the writing of 1 Thessalonians, we see the emergence of something new in the rhetorical situation of most of the letters of Paul: an organized opposition to Paul, and a situation to which Paul chose to respond with a

letter which was at once closely reasoned, very well organized, and highly polemical. I doubt that I stand with the majority of NT scholars when I say that 1 Thessalonians is as well crafted and as rhetorically creative as Galatians. Yet the situations reflected in 1 Thessalonians and Galatians are very different from each other. In 1 Thessalonians Paul was perhaps responding with his own suspicions that there were suspicions against him and/or the veracity of what he had preached during his founding visit to Thessalonica. The hallmarks of the rhetoric of 1 Thessalonians are smoothness and subtlety. I think all will agree that these two descriptions of the rhetoric of 1 Thessalonians stand in unmistakable contrast to the rhetoric of Galatians. Consequently it is no accident that εὐαγγέλιον figures quite differently in the rhetoric of 1 Thessalonians. Of the six occurrences of εὐαγγέλιον in 1 Thessalonians, none are in the probatio, one is in the exordium (1 Thess. 1.5), and five are in the narratio (1 Thess. 2.2, 4, 8, 9; 3.2). It is quite significant, I think, that all these occurrences are so concentrated in the exordium and especially the *narratio*, as opposed to the probatio. Neither in Galatians nor in 1 Thessalonians does Paul give a systematic exposition or theoretical description of what he meant by 'gospel'. Yet 'gospel' is something very important to both these Pauline letters, not to mention the other letters of the Pauline corpus. In 1 Thessalonians it means 'the Christian message' but there is no trace of the idea that there are conflicting Christian messages in circulation in the churches. Likewise there is no trace of any need for Paul to warn or threaten his readers that any gospel different from his was no gospel at all. Hence 'gospel' is something like a shorthand description of what it is that he as an apostle has been believing, teaching and living. Paul does not need to make hard and fast distinctions among these meanings of 'gospel'. He would say, I think, that they are aspects of the same theological and practical reality. When belief in the gospel and the practice of ministry according to the gospel were in harmony with the will of God, revealed in the gospel, then there was no need to emphasize 'the truth of the gospel', implying the existence of opposite of that truth. Thus 'gospel' is not part of any polemical phrase in 1 Thessalonians[26] and the curses of Gal. 1.8-9 are happily out of the picture in 1 Thessalonians.

As in other Pauline letters, 'gospel' is something that is part of the overall rhetoric of each of the letters in which it occurs. It is a concept,

26. A possible, though extremely mild, exception to this would be 1 Thess. 1.5. The fact that 'gospel' is not used polemically is in marked contrast with 2 Thess. 1.8.

as well as a noun and a verb, that is usable in the *narratio* of letters as a shorthand term for the Christian message, especially in nonpolemical contexts. In the context of conflict between Paul and his opponents, 'gospel' was extremely useful as a term for what can be called 'the right Christian message' or 'the real Christian message', as part of Paul's epistolary warfare against those whose understanding and/or practice of the Christian faith were perverted.

Thus 'gospel' was a flexible term not merely in its meaning but also especially in the way it was used by Paul. Galatians, one of the most remarkable of the letters of Paul, illustrates well the flexibility of the term's meaning. Even more, Galatians gives a full illustration of the flexibility of the ways in which 'gospel' was employed in order to do the sort of Christian persuasion that Paul was forced to do, in one of the most bitter situations he was ever to face in his apostolic ministry.

GOSPEL AND THEOLOGY IN GALATIANS

N.T. Wright

1. *Introduction*

The word 'gospel' has had a chequered career in the course of Christian history. During the first century, as we shall see, it could refer both to a message proclaimed by word of mouth and to a book about Jesus of Nazareth. In more recent times it has been used to denote a particular sort of religious meeting (a 'gospel rally') and as a metaphor for utterly reliable information ('gospel truth'). Many Christians today, when reading the New Testament, never question what the word means, but assume that, since they know from their own context what 'the gospel' is, Paul and the others must have meant exactly the same thing.

The trouble is, of course, that though there are obviously difficult concepts in the New Testament, which send any intelligent reader off to the commentaries and dictionaries, there are others which are in fact equally difficult but which are not recognized as such. 'We turn to the helps only when the hard passages are manifestly hard. But there are treacherous passages which will not send us to the notes. They look easy and aren't'.[1] Part of the purpose of scholarship, within both the academy and the church, is to expose the frailty of regular assumptions, to ask the unasked questions and to sketch out alternative possibilities. Whether or not he agrees with the proposals I shall advance, I know that Richard Longenecker shares this vision of the purpose of scholarship. Indeed, it is partly because he and others have carved out ways of pursuing this vision that I, in company with a good many today, now have the courage to do so as well. I am therefore confident that he will

1. C.S. Lewis, *The Discarded Image: An Introduction to Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. vii.

be as happy to entertain, and perhaps to controvert, my arguments as he has been to engage in debate on many previous occasions, which, whether formal or informal, have always been warm and cheerful.

In order to arrive at the meaning of 'gospel' within the confines of the letter to the Galatians, we must go back to the old question: where did the idea come from and what echoes did the word in consequence carry both for Paul and for his readers? I shall suggest that the two normal answers to these questions have been wrongly played off against one another, and that when we examine them both more closely we will discover convergences which have not hitherto been explored. This will enable us to survey the occurrences of 'gospel' within Galatians, with our ears retuned to the nuances which may after all have been present for both Paul and his hearers. We shall thus discover an emphasis within the letter which is not normally given the weight which, in my judgment, it deserves.

2. *Isaianic Message or Imperial Proclamation?*

The two backgrounds regularly proposed for Paul's use of εὐαγγέλιον and εὐαγγελίζομαι are, predictably, the Hebrew scriptures on the one hand and pagan usage on the other. The line between the two tends to follow the old divide between those who suppose Paul to be basically a Jewish thinker and those who see him as having borrowed his fundamental ideas from Hellenism.[2] The evidence has been rehearsed

2. In favour of the OT background: see esp. P. Stuhlmacher, 'The Pauline Gospel', in P. Stuhlmacher (ed.), *The Gospel and the Gospels* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1991 [1983]), pp. 149-72 for citations of other literature and discussion of the debate; U. Wilckens, *Die Brief an die Römer: Evangelish-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament* (Cologne/Neukirchen–Vluyn: Benzinger/ Neukirchener Verlag, 1978), VI, p. 74-75. In favour of pagan usage: above all G. Strecker, 'Das Evangelium Jesu Christi', in G. Strecker (ed.), *Jesus Christus in Historie und Theologie: Festschrift für H. Conzelmann* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1975), pp. 503-48; also Stuhlmacher, 'The Pauline Gospel', pp. 151-52; G. Friedrich, 'εὐαγγέλιον', *TDNT*, II, pp. 721-36, pp. 724-25; and W. Schneemelcher and R. McL. Wilson (eds.), *New Testament Apocrypha*. I. *Gospels and Related Writings* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963), pp. 71-75. It is remarkable that there is no article on 'Gospel' in the *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. On the history-of-religions debate which underlies all this see S.C. Neill and N.T. Wright, *The Interpretation of the New Testament, 1861–1986* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988 [1964]), pp. 367-78.

often enough,[3] though it is my impression that the right lessons have not always been learned from it. We must set out the main features briefly.

The LXX occurrences of the relevant root include two well-known verses from Isaiah:

> Get you up to a high mountain,
> O Zion, herald of good tidings (ὁ εὐαγγελιζόμενος Σιων);
> lift up your voice with strength,
> O Jerusalem, herald of good tidings (ὁ εὐαγγελιζόμενος Ιερουσαλημ);
> lift it up, do not fear;
> say to the cities of Judah,
> 'Here is your God!' (40.9)

> How beautiful upon the mountains
> are the feet of the messenger who announces peace (ὡς πόδες εὐαγγελιζομένου ἀκοὴν εἰρήνης),
> who brings good news (ὡς εὐαγγελιζόμενος ἀγαθά),
> who announces salvation,
> who says to Zion, 'Your God reigns'. (52.7)

These passages, in company with others,[4] are among the climactic statements of the great double theme of the whole section (Isaiah 40–55): YHWH's return to Zion and enthronement, and the return of Israel herself from her exile in Babylon. They are not simply miscellaneous 'good news', a generalized message of comfort for the downcast; they are very specific to the plight of Israel in exile. That they were read as such in the second-temple period is clear from two post-biblical passages which echo or evoke them. The first is *Psalms of Solomon* 11:

> Sound in Zion the signal trumpet of the sanctuary;
> announce in Jerusalem the voice of one bringing good news,
> for God has been merciful to Israel in watching over them.
> Stand on a high place, Jerusalem, and look at your children,
> from the east and the west assembled together by the Lord.
> From the north they come in the joy of their God;
> from far distant islands God has assembled them.
> He flattened high mountains into level ground for them;
> the hills fled at their coming.
> The forests shaded them as they passed by;
> God made every fragrant tree to grow for them.

3. See above all P. Stuhlmacher, *Das paulinische Evangelium.* I. *Vorgeschichte* (FRLANT 95; Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1968).

4. 60.6; 61.1; the Hebrew root בשׂר, which underlies these, occurs in a similar passage in 41.27.

So that Israel might proceed under the supervision of the glory of their God.
Jerusalem, put on the clothes of your glory,
prepare the robe of your holiness,
for God has spoken well of Israel forevermore.
May the Lord do what he has spoken about Israel and Jerusalem;
may the Lord lift up Israel in the name of his glory.
May the mercy of the Lord be upon Israel forevermore.[5]

This psalm is regularly, and rightly, referred to as evidence that the theme of the Isaianic herald was alive and well in the first century. Its significance for our purposes, however, goes further. The psalm speaks of *the return of Israel from exile*. It is generally agreed that it dates from a time several centuries after what is normally thought of as the 'return'; and yet it still appeals to YHWH to fulfil at last his ancient promises of 'return'—specifically, the promises of Isaiah 40. It is evident that for this writer, as for many others in second-temple Judaism, the 'return from exile', predicted by Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and others, had not yet taken place.[6]

The second and third passages from our period which echo the Isaianic tradition of 'good news' are from Qumran:

[that he might be], according to Thy truth,
a messenger [in the season] of Thy goodness;
that to the humble he might bring
glad tidings of Thy great mercy,
[proclaiming salvation]
from out of the fountain [of holiness
to the contrite] of spirit,
and everlasting joy to those who mourn.[7]

5. Cited according to J.H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. II. Expansions of the 'Old Testament' and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judaeo-Hellenistic Works* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985), pp. 661-62. The *Psalms of Solomon* are usually dated to the mid-first century BCE.

6. Cf. N.T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1991), pp. 268-70. See also Ezra 9.8-9. Josephus, in *Ant.* 11.64-65, speaks of Zerubbabel announcing (εὐηγγελίσατο) to the Jews in exile the good news that Darius was allowing them to return from exile; one textual variant gives this as 'he gave them the good news *about* [rather than 'from'] the king'.

7. 1QH 18.14-15, cited according to G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Penguin Books: Harmondsworth, 3rd edn, 1987 [1962]), p. 200.

> This is the day of [Peace/Salvation] concerning which [God] spoke [through Isa]iah the prophet, who said, [*How*] *beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of the messenger who proclaims peace, who brings good news, who proclaims salvation, who says to Zion: Your* ELOHIM [*reigns*]. Its interpretation; *the mountains* are the prophets... and the messenger is the Anointed one of the spirit, concerning whom Dan[iel] said, [*Until an anointed one, a prince...*] [And he *who brings*] *good* [*news*], *who proclaims* [*salvation*]: *it is concerning him that it is written...* [*To comfort all who mourn, to grant to those who mourn in Zion*]. *To comfort* [*those who mourn:* its interpretation], to make them understand all the ages of t[ime]... in truth... will turn away from Satan... by the judgment[s] of God, as it is written concerning him, [*who says to Zion*]; *your* ELOHIM *reigns. Zion* is... those who uphold the Covenant, who turn from walking [in] the way of the people. And *your* ELOHIM is [Melchizedek, who will save them from] the hand of Satan.[8]

Here again it is clear that, within the second-temple period, some Jews at least were still looking earnestly for a fulfilment of the Isaianic promises. The 'good news' or 'glad tidings' would be the message that the long-awaited release from captivity was at hand. And, as the last passage clearly shows, within this expectation Isaiah 40 and 61 could be combined with each other, and with a passage from Daniel (9.25) interpreted messianically.

For some, this evidence is quite sufficient to win the verdict: this is the background against which the New Testament 'gospel' is to be understood. Others, however, still insist upon the non-Jewish background as the vital one. In the Greek world, 'εὐαγγέλιον is a technical term for "news of victory"'.[9] More specifically, it refers to the announcement of the birth or accession of an emperor. Not least at the time of Augustus, who became the first Roman emperor following a long period of civil war, the coming of a new ruler meant the promise of peace, a new start for the world:

> The providence which has ordered the whole of our life, showing concern and zeal, has ordained the most perfect consummation for human life by giving to it Augustus, by filling him with virtue for doing the work of a benefactor among men, and by sending in him, as it were, a saviour for us and those who come after us, to make war to cease, to create order

8. 11QMelch., cited from Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 301.

9. Friedrich, 'εὐαγγέλιον', *TDNT*, II, p. 722. For the whole field of pagan usage cf. esp. Stuhlmacher, *Das paulinische Evangelium*, pp. 180-206.

> everywhere...; the birthday of the god [Augustus] was the beginning for the world of the glad tidings that have come to men through him...[10]

Which of these backgrounds, then, is the appropriate one against which to read the New Testament evidence? Is 'the gospel', for Paul, an Isaianic message or an Imperial proclamation? I suggest that the antithesis between the two is a false one, based on the spurious either-or that has misleadingly divided New Testament studies for many years.[11]

The trouble with history-of-religions study is that it regularly fails to see that what matters is not so much where an idea has *come from* as where it is *going to*. The problem is not merely that we now know that 'Jew' and 'Greek' in the first century did not live in watertight worlds—though this itself ought to make us wary of a strict either-or. It is, rather, that the Isaianic message always was about the enthronement of YHWH and the dethronement of pagan gods; about the victory of Israel and the fall of Babylon; about the arrival of the Servant King and the consequent coming of peace and justice. The scriptural message therefore pushes itself of its own accord into the world where pagan gods and rulers stake their claims and celebrate their enthronements.

A further aspect of the problem has lain in the insistence (not least in influential articles such as that of Friedrich in *TDNT*) upon a strict division between 'religious' and 'secular' meanings of the root words.[12] The Isaianic meaning is supposed to be 'religious', and the imperial one 'secular'. But matters were not so clear-cut in the first century. The exchange between Bultmann and Schneemelcher as to whether εὐαγγέλιον was a sacral term in the Imperial cult likewise misses the

10. Inscription dated to 9 BCE: quoted from U. Becker, 'Gospel, Evangelize, Evangelist', *NIDNTT*, II, p. 108.

11. One writer who has attempted to combine the two backgrounds is C.E.B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (ICC: Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1975), I, p. 55; see below.

12. Friedrich, 'εὐαγγέλιον', p. 708, claims to detect a transition from the one to the other, and declares that 'in the OT בשׂרה is used only in a secular sense. There is no religious use of the subst. whatever' (p. 721). To project the modern distinction between religious and secular onto material from ancient Israel seems to me quite anachronistic. Another problem that has bedevilled the discussion, as with so many others, is an over-use of precise lexicography, as though the connection between two areas of discourse lay in verbal identity rather than content; a good example is Wilckens' dismissal of the analogy with the emperor-cult on the grounds that there the plural εὐαγγέλια, not the 'technical' singular, is found (*Die Brief an die Römer*, p. 75).

point:[13] once the emperor was venerated as a god (a development already well advanced, at least in the East, by Paul's day), any proclamation of his rule had clear 'religious' connotations, even if a particular word within that proclamation did not happen to feature in the more narrowly 'cultic' setting. And it was precisely against such 'religious' connotations—the boasting of pagan emperors from Babylon and Egypt, through the megalomania of Antiochus Epiphanes, and on to Imperial Rome—that the Jews of Paul's day had set their face. When their god,[14] YHWH, acted within history to deliver his people, the spurious gods of the heathen would be defeated. If and when YHWH set up his own king as the true ruler, his true earthly representative, all other kingdoms would be confronted with their rightful overlord.

Once we grasp the historical setting of Paul's gospel, therefore, we discover something for which the abstract categories of traditional history-of-religions research had not prepared us. *The more Jewish we make Paul's 'gospel', the more it confronts directly the pretensions of the Imperial cult, and indeed all other paganisms whether 'religious' or 'secular'.* It is because of Jewish monotheism that there can be 'no king but god'.[15] In the history of ideas, and in lexicography, derivation is important; but so should be confrontation. The all-embracing royal and religious claims of Caesar are directly challenged by the equally all-embracing claim of Israel's god. To announce that YHWH is king is to announce that Caesar is not. Thus even the apparently 'secular' uses of εὐαγγελίζειν in the LXX are brought into the immediately relevant background: again and again, the 'news' that is brought has to do with the royal house, whether for good or for ill.[16] The death of one king

13. R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (trans. K. Grobel; London: SCM Press; New York: Scribner's, 1951–55), I, p. 87; Schneemelcher and Wilson, *New Testament Apocrypha*, pp. 72-73.

14. Use of the lower case for 'g' in god is deliberate; for a full explanation see my *Christian Origins and the Question of God.* I. *The New Testament and the People of God* (London: SPCK; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1992), pp. xiv-xv.

15. Cf. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, pp. 170-81; 302-307.

16. Cf. e.g. 1 Sam. 31.9; 2 Sam. 1.20; 4.10; 18.19, 20, 27, 31; 1 Kgs 1.42. It is not true that 'in pagan and Jewish literature the term designates *any kind of message*' (italics added) (*pace* H. Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development* [London, Philadelphia: SCM Press, Trinity Press International, 1990], p. 4).

means the accession of another; the acclamation of a would-be king spells a dire threat for the present one.

This, however, forces us back to the question: to what extent did Paul participate in this confrontation? What contribution, in particular, does the letter to the Galatians have to make to this exegetical, historical, and above all profoundly theological question?

3. *God, Messiah and Gospel in Galatians*

Two elements in Pauline theology which are normally underplayed, even supposing they are noticed at all, come into crucial relevance here. First, Paul's gospel is a message about the true god as opposed to the false gods. Second, Paul's gospel is a message about the Messiah, the true king of Israel, and hence of the world. In both cases, this 'gospel' only makes sense against the Jewish background sketched briefly above; in both cases, the 'gospel' confronts directly the claims of other gods and lords.

These claims are of course controversial. Remarkably enough, the meaning of 'god' in Paul's theology has regularly been passed over. Equally remarkably, in my view, the Messiahship of Jesus has often been ignored, it being assumed that Paul left such categories behind in announcing his message to the non-Jewish world who would not be interested in Jewish concepts. Partly as a result of these two omissions, the confrontation between the gospel Paul preached and the 'powers'—the other gods and lords of the pagan world—has also regularly been marginalized. I have raised the first and third of these questions elsewhere, though I have not explored them fully in relation to Paul himself.[17] In regard to the second, I have argued elsewhere that Paul did indeed regard Jesus as Messiah, and that this remained a vital and central category for him.[18] In what now follows I shall attempt to explain, within the brief compass of this essay, how the 'gospel' functions in Galatians as an announcement about the true God and about the Messiah, and hence as a challenge to the 'powers' of the world. The Pauline εὐαγγέλιον, I suggest, is based firmly in Judaism; at the same time, and indeed precisely for this reason, it functions as the royal announcement which challenges the pagan principalities and powers. Galatians is, as it happens, an excellent example of this whole train of thought.

17. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, *passim*, esp. ch. 9.
18. Wright, *Climax of the Covenant*, *passim*, esp. chs. 2, 3.

We may begin by considering Gal. 4.1-11. The word εὐαγγέλιον and its cognates are absent from the passage, but it will not be doubted that 4.1-7 states in one particular form the content of 'the gospel' which Paul preached; or that 4.8-11, in referring to the time when the Galatians did not 'know God', and then to their present state in which they do 'know God', describes substantially the context and effect of that gospel-preaching. The passage stands, in fact, at a fairly climactic moment in the whole letter, drawing together the argument of the preceding chapter (this is the force of λέγω δέ in 4.1), and laying the foundations for what is to come; it may thus fairly be seen as a summary of 'the gospel' which is so clearly stated as a main theme in the opening section of the letter (1.6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 16). In particular, the note in 4.4 that God sent forth his son 'when the time had fully come' corresponds quite closely to the link in Mark 1.15 between the 'fulfilment of the time' and the preaching of the gospel. We shall return to this point later on.

In terms of Gal. 4.1-7, the message of the Pauline gospel is this: the true god has sent his son, in fulfilment of the prophecies of scripture, to redeem his people from their bondage to false gods (described here as the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, 4.3, 9); he now sends his own spirit to make his people truly what they were before only in theory and hope—his own children, heirs of his world. Equipped with this gospel, the Galatian Christians now *know the true god*; or rather, as Paul quickly corrects himself, they are known by him (4.9).[19] That is, they have received the great blessing promised by Isaiah throughout chs. 40–55: the one true god has revealed himself in saving them, routing the idols of the nations in doing so. The message of good news decisively confronts the power of the spurious gods.

This raises the old question, whether the regular Pauline phrase 'the gospel of God', τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ, should be read as 'the gospel *concerning* God' or as 'the gospel *from* God'.[20] While I agree with Stuhlmacher and Strecker that it is difficult to divide them up completely, the present passage suggests that the *content* of the gospel is

19. Cf. 1 Cor. 8.4-6.

20. These are sometimes described as the 'objective' and 'subjective' genitives respectively; but this is misleading. Object and subject only strictly apply when the noun governed by the genitive denotes an activity (as in 'the love of God'). What we have here are the genitives of *content* and of *origin*. Cf. BDF §163: 'the division of the gen. into obj., subj. etc. is really only an attempt to set off several special types among the manifold possibilities...'

not merely 'Christ' but also, and perhaps primarily, God himself.[21] The Pharisee who, by his own obliquely autobiographical admission in Rom. 10.2, had been zealous for the one true god, looking for his victory over paganism on behalf of his ethnic people Israel, had become convinced that the victory had after all been won in Christ, and that the one true god was thereby revealed. The Shammaite who had believed that there should be 'no king but god' did not cease to believe it upon becoming a Christian. He now at last understood who that god really was. The god now revealed in the sending of the son and the spirit (4.1-7) is the god beside whom the defeated principalities and powers pale into insignificance (4.8-11). That is why, in 1.6, Paul can speak of the Galatians turning away from 'the one who called you in the grace of Christ' to 'another gospel'. The 'gospel' is for Paul first of all a message about the true god as opposed to the false gods.

But the gospel is also, of course, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ—a phrase which, less controversially, focuses attention on the content of the gospel without denying a reference to its origin (as in Gal. 1.12).[22] The gospel concerns the Christ, the Messiah; it is through him that the true god has made himself known. Paul's preaching of the gospel involved him in portraying Jesus Christ publicly as the crucified one (3.1).

Here I part company completely with the majority of the tradition, and explicitly with Stuhlmacher's recent treatment. In his analysis of 'the content of the Pauline gospel', Stuhlmacher states that 'in his Damascus vision Paul saw Christ exalted to the right hand of God...and installed as Son of God in the position of "Lord"'.[23] This simply cannot be right as it stands. Until his Damascus experience, Paul did not believe that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah, the 'Christ'. What then? Are we to say that 'in his Damascus experience Paul saw *Jesus* exalted...as Lord'? Are we, in other words, to go from the human Jesus to the exalted Lord, bypassing the step of Messiahship altogether? This would, I believe, be a travesty of Paul's experience and Pauline theology. 'Christ' is not a cipher for Paul, a kind of specialized surname for Jesus of Nazareth. It refers, as I have argued elsewhere, to Jesus as the Messiah, the one who sums up Israel in himself. It is because the

21. Against Stuhlmacher, 'The Pauline Gospel', p. 153.

22. Cf. R.N. Longenecker, *Galatians* (WBC: Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1990), p. 16.

23. Stuhlmacher, 'The Pauline Gospel', p. 154. Other similar statements occur frequently in the article.

crucified Jesus is the Messiah that all the trouble in Galatia occurs, trouble which Paul insists on speaking of in terms of 'the gospel'. What happened on the road to Damascus, I suggest, was something like this: Paul realized that the crucified Jesus was indeed risen from the dead; that in him the hope of Israel had thus been fulfilled; that he was therefore that which his supporters had claimed, namely Israel's Messiah; that this Jesus, the crucified and risen Messiah of Israel, was now enthroned as Lord of all, Jew and Gentile alike; that these events were indeed the inauguration of the 'age to come', though not in the form for which he, as a zealous Pharisee, had been longing; and that, as a result of this whole complex of thought (complex for us, reconstructing it; plain sailing for a first-century Pharisee), the pagan idolatry of the world had been decisively defeated, and those who adhered to it—that is, the Gentiles—were to be summoned to give allegiance to this strange and subversive Jewish Messiah. Hence, 'the gospel of Christ'.

My proposal at this point, then, is that, for Paul writing Galatians, 'the gospel' or 'the gospel of Christ' refers to this complex of belief and announcement. 'The gospel' is not, for Paul, a message about 'how one gets saved', in an individual and ahistorical sense. It is the announcement

1. that the God of Israel is the one true God, and that the pagan deities are mere idols;
2. that Jesus of Nazareth, the crucified and risen one, is not merely 'Lord' in some cosmic sense, but is actually King—King of Israel, and hence (on the Davidic model of passages such as Psalm 89) the King before whom all the kings of the earth shall bow;
3. that Israel's destiny has been fulfilled, her exile finished, her salvation won, but in a manner which undermines the Jewish ethnic and nationalistic hope that Paul had formerly espoused; and
4. that the rule of the pagan idols, which have kept the pagan nations in their iron grip, has been broken, and that those who follow and serve them are now summoned to share in the blessings of Israel's 'age to come'.

Each aspect of this fourfold announcement is, I believe, vital if we are to understand what Paul means by 'gospel' at all, and particularly in Galatians. It is because Paul sees his Galatian opponents failing to grasp

this sequence of thought that he accuses them of purveying 'another gospel'.

This proposal, I suggest, has three merits in particular.

1. It holds together the two backgrounds sketched above as part of the meaning of 'gospel'. It is *because* the Isaianic prophecy has come true that Jesus is now proclaimed as the new King, the King of kings. The Jewish background and the pagan context are not antithetical. One is not 'religious' and the other 'secular'. Both have to do with ultimate worldview issues; in the Jewish case the aspects which Enlightenment thought would consider more obviously 'religious' are firmly anchored to the national hope for restoration, and in the pagan case the aspects which Enlightenment thought would consider more obviously 'secular'—the enthronment of a monarch—are of course inextricably bound up with pagan views of national deities, and already by Paul's time with pagan views of the divine emperor. The Isaianic hope was always conceived as a challenge to paganism at every level; the pagan context always envisaged the new monarch as a gift from, and perhaps an expression of, the divine. Paul's gospel, in declaring that Israel's hope is fulfilled in her Messiah, *ipso facto* declares also that the pagan world is confronted with a new ruler.

2. This proposal explains why it is that Paul sees the 'gospel' as a challenge to the principalities and powers. The στοιχεῖα of 4.3, 9 are best understood as the tutelary deities that hold the nations in captivity. The irony of Paul's exposition at that point of the letter is of course that Israel has used the (god-given) Torah in the same way, locking herself up thereby inside her own nationalism, not realizing that the design of her god was that the covenant should be the means of his saving the world, and that she too needed liberating from the quasi-paganism involved in the idolization of nation, soil and blood. That is why, in 4.8-11, the ex-pagan Galatian Christians are warned that if they become circumcised, that is, become ethnically Jewish, they will in effect be reverting to paganism. They will be embracing again a religion of the στοιχεῖα. The gospel stands over against any such attempt. Precisely because Israel's hope has been fulfilled, and the Isaianic promises accomplished, *in the crucified and risen Jesus of Nazareth*, Israel's specifically ethnic aspirations are set aside, all paganisms are confronted with the message of the one true God, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and all pagans, as well as all Jews, are invited to discover true liberty through allegiance to the new king, the Messiah.

3. This proposal explains why the references to 'the gospel' in Galatians are so apparently flexible, covering what, on any other scheme, are quite a wide range of issues. A brief survey of the various occurrences of the εὐαγγέλιον root in Galatians should make this clear.

As we saw, in 1.6 the gospel is a message about the true god. In 1.7 it is the announcement of the Messiah. In 1.11-12 it is that which Paul received on the way to Damascus. In 1.16 it is the announcement of the son of the true god to the Gentiles. In 1.23 (where the verb occurs, but clearly within the same broad semantic field) it is the message of 'faith' (as also in 3.23-25, where 'faith' is more or less personified); here my own guess is that this is a shorthand for 'faith-in-the-god-who-raised-Jesus'.

In 2.1-5, the mention of Titus' circumcision (or not), and the opposition from 'false brethren' in Jerusalem (2.2-4), is sandwiched between the statements that Paul laid 'the gospel which [he] preached among the nations' before the 'pillar' apostles (2.2a), and that, by his opposition to the 'false brethren', what he calls 'the truth of the gospel' might be preserved for his Gentile converts (2.5). This juxtaposition is best explained on the assumption that the same 'gospel' itself decisively confronted and overthrew the pagan powers that had dominated the Galatians before, whereas, if the 'false brethren', or for that matter the Galatian 'agitators', had had their way, the gospel would have become simply an inner-Jewish message, inviting people to get circumcised and so to join present Judaism. And Judaism in Paul's day, as all Jews knew, *had not in fact been redeemed within its own terms of expectation.* The only redemption, the only fulfilment of the Isaianic return-from-exile prophecy, which had occurred, was the resurrection of the crucified Jesus; any attempt to purvey a 'gospel' which ignored the implications of this central event was a non-gospel (1.6-9), for the very good reason that it had no good news to offer.[24] It could only ever be a Jewish proselyte movement; it could not declare that the great promised day had arrived.

In 2.7 the 'gospel of the uncircumcision' and that of the circumcision

24. I find it strange that B.R. Gaventa should suggest that there is no implicit reference to the resurrection when Paul speaks of the cross. If we are to think truly historically, without the resurrection the cross could only herald another failed Messianic mission ('The Singularity of the Gospel: A Reading of Galatians', in J.M. Bassler [ed.], *Pauline Theology.* I. *Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, Philemon* [Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1991], pp. 147-59, 157).

are clearly not two different messages altogether. If I send a circular letter to several different friends, it makes perfectly good sense to speak of my sending 'the letter to Brian and Sylvia' by air mail and 'the letter to Andrew and Lis' by surface; it need not at all imply that the letters themselves are different. In Paul's case, 2.2 indicates clearly enough that the letters, the 'gospels', were not different; in any case, he has already declared in 1.6-9 that there cannot be two gospels. The division is one of geography, not content: Paul goes to the Gentile world (though his method, according to Rom. 1.16, remains 'to the Jew first and also to the Greek'[25]); Peter, to the Jewish world.

The issue of 'the truth of the gospel' is again at stake in the discussion of 2.11-14 (the phrase occurs in 2.14). Here the 'truth' in question is not simply a set of correct propositions, but an entire worldview, seen graphically in its characteristic praxis. Paul's reconstrual of the Jewish worldview necessarily involved one aspect of praxis which broke the bounds of previous Jewish ways: those who hailed the Messiah Jesus as their Lord formed a single family, whose common table functioned as a vital symbol. Remove that symbol, cease that praxis, and the entire worldview is under threat. Unless they are in place, the 'gospel' which he has announced is a lie. The powers have not been defeated; there is no new king, no lord of Jew and Gentile alike, no new family from Jew and Greek alike.

This is why Paul can speak of scripture 'preaching the gospel in advance' to Abraham (3.8). 'The gospel' which is thus 'preached' is, once more, not the summons to a new dimension of religious experience (that might make Christianity into simply another mystery religion); not the invitation to a private experience of salvation, either in the present or the future (that might simply create a new sense of shut-in privilege in place of that which Paul had renounced); but the message that *all the nations would be blessed in Abraham* (3.8b). The gospel narrative, the story of Jesus the Messiah, is the story of how that promise has come true. It tells of how Israel's own exile at the hands of the pagans, which might have seemed to block the promises for good, has been dealt with in the execution of the Messiah (3.10-14).[26] It tells of how the single

25. Cf. too Rom. 15.8-9.

26. Cf. Wright, *Climax of the Covenant*, ch. 7. I hope that the fuller exposition of the 'end of exile' theme in my *The New Testament and the People of God*, pp. 268-71, and the primary and secondary sources referred to there, will help to convince those who were puzzled by that earlier statement.

'seed', the one family promised to Abraham, has been created, despite the division between Jew and Gentile which the Torah, if absolutized, would have maintained (3.15-22, 28-29).[27] It tells, in other words, of how a new family has come into being, a family composed of Jews and Gentiles alongside one another.

This family, uniquely among families (in a world where family and racial loyalty were all-important in a way of which the post-Enlightenment West knows little), bore only one distinguishing mark, and that was πίστις, faith. 'Justification by faith' was not, for Paul, a doctrine about how people could 'find a gracious god' without moralism. Nor does it speak merely, as the Romantic movement has encouraged some Protestants to speak, of the difference between outward and inward religion (a difference well enough known to first-century Jews in any case). Nor is 'justification by faith' to be equated with 'the gospel' itself; it is, rather, its direct corollary. 'The gospel' is the announcement of the kingship of Jesus; 'justification by faith' reminds those who, abandoning their varied idolatries, have given their allegiance to Jesus that this very allegiance is the only distinguishing mark by which the renewed and united family of Abraham is to be known. All other possible distinguishing marks undermine the gospel itself, implying that the crucified and risen Jesus is not after all the one true king. Allegiance and loyalty to Jesus, 'faith' in this full and rich sense, is not the gospel itself; it is what the gospel is designed to produce and by the power of the spirit, does produce.

For this is where Galatians has its equivalent of the statement in Romans that the gospel is 'the power of God for salvation to all who believe' (Rom. 1.16). When the message of King Jesus was announced it brought forth faith, and the only explanation of this is that the spirit works as and when the message is proclaimed. That, at least, is how I believe Gal. 3.2-5 should be read, not least in the light of 1 Thess. 1.4-10 and 2.13. The royal proclamation is not simply the conveying of true information about the kingship of Jesus; it is the putting into effect of that kingship, the decisive and authoritative summoning to allegiance. That is why it challenges the powers. That is why to retain, or to embrace, symbols and praxis which speak of other loyalties and other allegiances is to imply that other powers are still being invoked. And that is to deny 'the truth of the gospel'.

27. Cf. Wright, *Climax of the Covenant*, ch. 8.

4. *Concluding Reflections*

I have proposed, all too briefly, a way of reading 'gospel' in Galatians which, it seems to me, does more justice both to the history-of-religions background and to the exegetical content of the term than the various alternative views currently available. This generates, for me at least, several concluding reflections, of which I confine myself to three.

First, I suspect that this conception of Paul's 'gospel', which is of course considerably more wholistic than some others, goes a lot further than competing analyses in explaining why this gospel provoked opposition, including violent opposition. Offering people a new religious mode of being, in a private sense, is not particularly threatening. It becomes so, and provokes violence, the minute it challenges the life and worldview of a community; this is so just as much in the modern 'Christian' western world as in first-century Asia Minor. The message of the cross was, as Paul ruefully noted, a scandal to Jews (1 Cor. 1.23; Gal. 5.11); the entire gospel was also a scandal to Gentiles, inviting them to abandon their long-held, and sometimes politically useful, allegiances and to give allegiance only to the still-very-Jewish, and therefore scandalous, Jesus. The idea that the early preaching of the gospel carried no particular political implications only shows, I think, how far we have gone in projecting the privatized nature of western Christianity back onto Paul.[28]

Secondly, I suggest that if we read Galatians in this way we discover a new coherence in the letter, and by implication in Paul's theology as a whole. There is a current fashion in Pauline studies for playing off 'covenantal' categories against 'apocalyptic' ones. Since I have myself stressed the importance of 'covenant' in Paul, let it be said here, and backed up by the argument of this essay, that I believe in the essentially apocalyptic nature of Paul's covenantal theology, and vice versa. 'Apocalyptic', rightly understood, is not about the destruction of everything that happened before Jesus and the ushering in of a totally

28. Against, for example, Wilckens, who writes: 'in der Frühzeit der Entstehung des urchristlichen Wortgebrauchs jeglicher politisch-polemische Bezug fehlt' (*Die Brief an die Römer*, p. 75). Cranfield, *Romans*, p. 55, sees in principle the point I am making, but generalizes it away from the immediate political context: it is not a matter simply of 'the pretentious claims of self-important men', but of the political claim of worldly rulers.

new world. It is about the new creation breaking into the old.[29] Paul speaks at the start of Galatians about the true god 'rescuing us from the present evil age' (1.4), and at the close of the letter about the 'new creation' which was the only thing that mattered, over against the questions of circumcision and uncircumcision (6.15). This cosmic and apocalyptic vision, however, is in no way antithetical to covenant theology rightly understood, or at least Paulinely understood. For Paul, as for the Isaiah passages he knew so well, it is when the true god acts to fulfil his covenant to Israel that the new world order will be ushered in. As in the sequence of thought in 2 Corinthians chs. 3, 4 and 5, it is the new covenant (ch. 3) that, proclaimed by the suffering apostle (ch. 4), brings about the new creation (ch. 5). The gospel of the true God, of the Messiah Jesus, announces this total message. The real 'apocalypse' has taken place in the resurrection of the Messiah Jesus (compare Gal. 1.13); but that event can only be understood, and its significance elaborated, through an exploration of the Abrahamic covenant (Galatians 3–4).[30] What has been left behind in the revelation of the new world through the gospel is not covenant theology itself, but the restriction of covenant membership to 'those of the Torah'.

Thirdly, the significance I have posited for 'gospel' in Galatians may have something to say about the relationship between 'gospel' as Paul's own term for the message he announced and 'gospel' as an early-church term, so far as we can tell in the period later than Paul, for books like Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. The detailed history of this transition is a subject for another time.[31] Suffice it to say here that once we reinstate the Pauline emphasis, there is far less of a strange break between Paul's 'gospel' and the written 'gospels' than there is if we suppose the former to be the announcement of a new, non-historical, way of being religious, or of finding a non-historical salvation, and the latter to represent a failure of nerve, an attempt to ground the supposedly ahistorical gospel in history after all. If we take Paul's

29. Cf. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, ch. 10.

30. The rarity of the word διαθήκη (cf. 3.15) is of comparatively little importance here, except to those who cannot see beyond the pages of the concordance. What matters is that, as in Romans 4, Paul is dealing again and again with whole passages (Genesis 12, 15, Deuteronomy 27, etc.) that speak of the covenant and relate it to Israel's history and future.

31. Cf. Schneelmelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, pp. 71-75 and Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, Part I.

'gospel' to denote the announcement that the true god has acted in fulfilment of his promises, sending the Messiah to die and be raised, and so ushering in the new world order in which the false gods are confronted and confounded and their adherents summoned to a new and liberating allegiance, then we may realise that that description would do fairly well for Matthew, Mark, Luke and John as well, for all their obvious differences from one another and from Paul.[32] Mark's Jesus ('the time is fulfilled; the kingdom of God is at hand; repent and believe the gospel')[33] is quite at home with Paul ('when the time had fully come, God sent forth his son...').[34]

Whether this would do so well for the *Gospel of Thomas* is a different matter altogether. But then, Paul has always been a problem for those in the ancient and modern worlds who have sought to advance seriously gnosticizing interpretations of the message of Jesus. Despite the claims sometimes advanced to the contrary, to enter the enclosed little world of *Thomas* is not to confront the real issues of the real world, or the real questions of theology or even history, but to avoid them. Paul's gospel, like Isaiah's, confronts the tyrants and summons their victims to freedom.[35] If history, theology and exegesis can join hands at this point, perhaps together they might persuade the contemporary church to rediscover aspects of Paul's message to the world which we, like his opponents, have often enough found it convenient to ignore.

32. I am thus approaching, from a different angle, the same set of issues as R.B. Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ: An Investigation of the Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3.1–4.11* (SBLDS; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), with an arguably similar result. Cf. too Gaventa, 'The Singularity of the Gospel', p. 154.

33. Mk 1.15.

34. Gal. 4.4.

35. On the theme of freedom in Paul see Longenecker, *Paul, Apostle of Liberty: The Origin and Nature of Paul's Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1976 [1964]).

GOSPEL AND COMMENSALITY: SOCIAL AND THEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF GALATIANS 2.14

Robert Jewett

Paul charged in Gal. 2.14 that refusing to participate in the common meal at Antioch constituted a violation of the gospel. Our honoree's commentary shows that the expression οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσιν ('they were not acting straightforwardly') indicates that 'the issues raised at Antioch were not of the nature of *adiaphora*'.[1] He follows Augustine in affirming Paul's side of this conflict, because 'Peter was dreadfully wrong and Paul right in his rebuke and his defense of the gospel'.[2] But what exactly was implied by the expression ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγέλιου ('the truth of the gospel'), used in Gal 2.5 and 14? The dominant interpretative tradition views this in strictly doctrinal terms: 'Paul's language denotes the doctrine of grace'.[3] But if the offence consisted of Peter's withdrawal from eating with Gentiles, why did Paul not accuse him of failing to act in accordance with ἀγάπη, or with κοινωνία? Is it not apparent from Paul's phrasing that 'gospel' in this passage entails a social system requiring 'fellowship', including cross-cultural eating?[4]

1. R.N. Longenecker, *Galatians* (WBC 41; Dallas: Word Books, 1990), p. 79.
2. Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 79.
3. J.B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (London: Macmillan, 10th edn, 1890), p. 107. This was accepted by E.D. Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* (ICC; New York: Scribner's 1920), p. 86 and cited by H.D. Betz, *A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), p. 92. Longenecker affirms this line of interpretation in *Galatians*, pp. 53, 77.
4. See P. Richardson's formulation in 'Pauline Inconsistency: I Corinthians 9.19-23 and Galatians 2.11-14', *NTS* 26 (1979–80), p. 352: 'In Gal. 2 Paul goes on to connect his own convictions about the specific matter of table fellowship with the truth of the Gospel'.

The mainstream tradition of Pauline scholarship has been so preoccupied with a purely theological definition of gospel,[5] and so resistant to taking the social dimensions of the early Pauline communities into account,[6] that these questions have never been posed. Consequently the social dimension of the 'gospel', visible in Gal. 2.14, still needs to be defined. As a preliminary effort in this direction, I would suggest that Paul understood the gospel to be the message that instituted a new form of commensality, in which converted Jews and Gentiles overcame their cultural traditions of separation into distinct and irreconcilable groups in order to participate together in sacramental love-feasts.

1. *The Crucial Role of Love-Feasts in Early Churches*

Several recent studies have explored the evidence of frequently shared common meals in the Pauline churches, which illuminates the social background of Gal. 2.14.[7] A form-critical analysis of 2 Thess. 3.10 shows it to be a community regulation probably devised by tenement churches that relied on members to share their wages in support of daily love-feasts. The wording indicates that this regulation was part of the foundational catechism of the Thessalonian church, which indicates the central significance of these meals in congregational life. This work rests on the foundation of Bo Reicke's study of the early Christian love-feasts, which showed that the eucharist was celebrated in the form of a common meal by most Christian groups through the fourth century.[8]

5. For example, see O. Michel, 'Evangelium', *RAC* 6 (1966), cols. 116-20; P. Stuhlmacher, *Das paulinische Evangelium. I. Vorgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968), pp. 286-89; Stuhlmacher, 'The Pauline Gospel', in P. Stuhlmacher (ed.), *The Gospel and the Gospels* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), pp. 153-56; H.W. Attridge, 'Gospel, Gospels', *Harper's Bible Dictionary*, (San Francisco: Harpers, 1985), p. 354; G. Strecker, 'εὐαγγέλιον', *EDNT* 2 (1991), p. 72.

6. See R. Jewett, *Paul the Apostle to America: Cultural Trends and Pauline Scholarship* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1994), pp. 7-8, 10-12, 74-77.

7. See ch. 6, 'Tenement Churches and Pauline Love Feasts', in Jewett, *Paul the Apostle*, pp. 73-86; see also pp. 7-8. An abbreviated version of this chapter appeared as 'Tenement Churches and Pauline Feasts', *Quarterly Review* 14 (Spring, 1994), pp. 43-58; a more technical version with the title 'Tenement Churches and Communal Meals in the Early Church: Implications of a Form-Critical Analysis of 2 Thessalonians 3:10' appeared in *BR* 38 (1993), pp. 23-43.

8. B. Reicke, *Diakonie, Festfreude und Zelos in Verbindung mit der altchristlichen Agapenfeier* (UUÅ 1951:5; Uppsala: B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1951).

The references to the 'Agape' in John 13.1; Jude 12; Ignatius, *Smyrna* 6.2; 7.1; and 8.2, as well as the discussions of common meals in Acts and 1 Corinthians, indicate that the eucharistic meal was linked with diaconal service, understood as a matter of serving meals in celebration with the faith community. In the light of Reicke's work, I believe that an accurate translation of Rom. 13.10 would also point in the same direction, if proper attention were given to arthrous use of ἀγάπη: 'The Agape does no evil to the neighbor; law's fulfillment is therefore the Agape'. Reicke showed that early Christian sources, beginning with the biblical evidence, point toward the 'single Christian sacrament of table fellowship'.[9] The evidence justifies calling all such celebrations in the early church 'love-feasts'.

In Reicke's view the distinctive commensality of early Christianity was marked by eschatological joy at the inbreaking of a new age and the presence of a Lord who had triumphed over the principalities and powers. This joy was treated with ambivalence by early Christian writers because it tended toward excesses of zealous impatience with the continuation of a fallen world and it sometimes resulted in licentious behaviour. Reicke showed that the ecstatic and eschatological dimensions of such celebrations contributed to the disorders in Thessalonica[10] and Corinth.[11] The warning in Rom. 13.13 concerning 'carousings and drunkenness' appears to point in the same direction. Reicke observes, in fact, that the only New Testament passage that refers to such joyous celebrations in exclusively positive terms is Acts 2.46. All other passages reveal concerns about problematic behaviour in connection with these celebratory meals. These concerns point to the crucial importance of love-feasts in life of early Christian communities.

The studies of κοινωνία and 'brotherhood' that have appeared since Reicke's pathbreaking investigation have confirmed the main outlines of this social background of inclusive commensality. George Panikulam's investigation of the use of κοινωνία by Paul concludes that while it is 'first and foremost Christocentric', bringing believers into fellowship with Christ, most of the Pauline usage 'assumes an ecclesial dimension and hence becomes communitarian'.[12] Although this communitarian

9. Reicke, *Diakonie*, p. 14.
10. Reicke, *Diakonie*, pp. 244-45.
11. Reicke, *Diakonie*, p. 282.
12. G. Panikulam, *Koinônia in the New Testament: A Dynamic Expression of Christian Life* (AnBib 85; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1979), p. 108.

dimension remains somewhat undeveloped in his study, his discussion of 1 Cor. 10.1-22 concludes that fellowship with Christ 'produces a new *koinônia* among those who partake of the cup and bread'.[13] Hans-Josef Klauck offers an historical-religious explanation of this link between communal fellowship and fellowship with Christ.[14] Paul's usage and that of early Hellenistic Christianity reflects the language of Graeco-Roman mystery religions that portray participation in a cultic meal as fellowship with a deity.[15] 'Κοινωνία derives from the terminology of Greek sacred meals, was applied in the Hellenistic congregation to the Lord's Supper, and the Pauline usage of the word takes this starting point'.[16]

Regular, sometimes daily, participation in common meals in which fellowship with Christ was celebrated was characteristic of early Christianity, Klauck concludes.[17] The comprehensive survey of the discussion of κοινωνία in the past 50 years by Josef Hainz shows a wide consensus that fellowship includes both Christ and fellow believers in the church so that one can say that 'the fundamental structure of the church of Jesus Christ is eucharistic fellowship'.[18] Klaus Schäfer's comprehensive study of 'congregation as brotherhood' in the undisputed Pauline letters shows that the language of family membership indicates a group consciousness that transcends social and national origins.[19] The use of φιλαδελφία in particular points to concrete actions in the realm of hospitality, care of the sick, burial of the dead, mutual help in practical

13. Panikulam, *Koinônia*, p. 29.

14. H. Klauck, *Herrenmahl und hellenistischer Kult: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum ersten Korintherbrief* (NTAbh 15; Münster: Aschendorff, 1982).

15. Klauck, *Herrenmahl und hellenistischer Kult*, pp. 163-66.

16. Klauck, *Herrenmahl und hellenistischer Kult*, p. 261. While Klauck denies that the Lord's Supper was simply taken over from the celebrations of the mystery religions, he concludes on p. 372 'that without the multi-leveled Hellenistic influence, the sacramental conception of the Lord's Supper could not have emerged in early Christianity'.

17. Klauck, *Herrenmahl und hellenistischer Kult*, p. 367.

18. J. Hainz, *Koinonia: 'Kirche' als Gemeinschaft bei Paulus* (Biblische Untersuchungen 16; Regensburg: Pustet, 1982), p. 202, referring to a study by Karl Kertelge.

19. K. Schäfer, *Gemeinde als 'Bruderschaft'. Ein Beitrag zum Kirchenverständnis des Paulus* (Europäische Hochschulschriften Reihe XXIII Theologie 333; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1989), pp. 441-45.

areas and a general sense of solidarity.[20] Although Schäfer does not draw explicit inferences about commensality, it would seem to be presupposed by this usage: family groups are marked above all by eating together.

The standard studies of house churches by Banks, Branick and Klauck confirm the centrality of shared meals in the early period of the Pauline congregations.[21] Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza has been particularly clear that early Christian congregational life centred in 'the communal banquet or meal which regularly gathered together all members of the group for table companionship. Eating and drinking together was the major integrative moment in the socially diversified Christian house community. The *diakonia* at tables was crucial for early Christian community'.[22] She linked this appropriately with the familial language of 'adoption', 'sons and daughters', 'brothers and sisters', that was so characteristic of early congregational life, language that surfaces in Gal. 3.26-29:

> In baptism Christians enter the force field of the Spirit, share in ecstatic experiences, and... have become 'a new creation'... They are all equal, because they all share in the spirit, God's power; they are all called elect and holy because they are adopted by God, all without exception: Jews, pagans, women, men, slaves, free poor, rich... The household of God concretized in the house church constitutes the new family of God, where all without exception are 'sisters and brothers'.[23]

The recent study of the Corinthian account of the Lord's supper by Peter Lampe is highly relevant, because it shows that the participants brought their own food to share.[24] This matches the description of the

20. Schäfer, *Gemeinde als 'Bruderschaft'*, p. 161.

21. See R. Banks, *Paul's Idea of Community: The Early House Churches in their Historical Setting* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), pp. 83-90; V. Branick, *The House Church in the Writings of Paul* (Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1989), pp. 95-111; see also H. Klauck, *Hausgemeinde und Hauskirche im frühen Christentum* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1981).

22. E. Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 1984), p. 198, referring to her study, 'Tablesharing and the Celebration of the Eucharist', in M. Collins and D. Power (eds.), *Can we Always Celebrate the Eucharist?* (Concilium 152; New York: Seabury, 1982), pp. 3-12.

23. Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, p. 199.

24. P. Lampe, 'Das korinthische Herrenmahl im Schnittpunkt hellenistisch-römischer Mahlpraxis und paulinischen Theologia Crucis (1 Kor 11,17-34)', *ZNW* 82 (1991), pp. 183-213.

ἔρανος, known since Homeric times as the pot-luck type of banquet in which the custom was to share equally in whatever was brought and to begin the meal together.[25] Lampe pointed particularly to the description of such pot-luck meals in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*: 'Whenever some of the members of a dining-club brought more meat than others, Socrates would tell the waiter either to put the small contribution into the common stock or to portion it out equally among the diners. So the wealthy eaters felt obliged not only to take their share of the pool, but to pool their own supplies in return...' (XIV. 14.1).

In Lampe's reconstruction of the Corinthian situation, the wealthy church members arrived before the slaves and handworkers were free from their labours in the early evening. They ate up the expensive provisions and took all the places in the dining room, leaving the poorer members of the congregation to take what was left. Paul recommends that the Corinthians should wait until all are present before starting the meal (1 Cor. 11.21, 33), so that whatever was brought to the pot-luck would be available to all.[26] Paul uses the example of Christ giving himself for others to provide a rationale for a genuine sharing in love.[27] To use the term recently popularized by John Dominic Crossan,[28] the meal was to be a distinctively Christian form of commensality in which rich and poor, slave and free, Greek and Jew would share together with Christ as servant, host and judge.

2. *Commensality in Antioch*

The account of congregational life in Antioch provided by Acts 13.1-3 and Gal. 2.12-14 points to a similar system of love-feasts. Acts 13.2 and 13.3 refer to the Antioch Christians as fasting and praying together; this seems to imply that they had previously been eating together. It makes little sense to gather together to fast if one had not become accustomed

25. Lampe, 'Das korinthische Herrenmahl', pp. 192-96.

26. Lampe, 'Das korinthische Herrenmahl', p. 205.

27. Lampe, 'Das korinthische Herrenmahl', pp. 211-12.

28. J.D. Crossan, *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (San Francisco: Harper, 1991), pp. 341-44. On p. 344 he describes Jesus' stress on commensality as 'a strategy for building or rebuilding peasant community on radically different principles from those of honor and shame, patronage and clientage. It was based on an egalitarian sharing of spiritual and material power at the most grass-roots level'. See also J.D. Crossan, *Jesus: A Revolutionary Biography* (San Francisco: Harper, 1994), pp. 66-74.

to being together at meal times. This commensality would be consistent with earlier descriptions in Acts 2.43-46 and 6.1-7 of the new faith communities emerging after Pentecost that explicitly refer to their sharing food and possessions. The Antioch church is described in 11.19-27 as an extension of this movement, taking up the obligation of sharing in the relief sent to Jerusalem Christians at the time of the famine (11.27-30). S. Scott Bartchy's recent study of the tradition of a 'community of goods in Acts' has undercut the skepticism of commentators such as Conzelmann that such sharing was merely idealized and fictional.[29] Given the normal expectation of 'having things in common' between members of Mediterranean kin groups and patronage systems, it was not at all unusual for a group thinking of itself as composed of 'brothers' to eat together in this way. Bartchy makes use of Bruce J. Malina's investigation of fictive kin groups in early Christianity,[30] showing that the remarkable feature was not eating together but 'the radical inclusiveness that characterized this kin group'.[31]

The identification of the five leaders of the Antioch church confirms the likelihood that such radical inclusiveness had indeed extended beyond Jerusalem. The details in Acts 13.1 belong among the reliable evidence[32] drawn from Antiochene tradition, compared with Acts' account of the placement of the famine visit and its insistence on a close association between Paul and Jerusalem.[33] The persons named appear to belong to the leadership circle of the Antiochene church.[34] While

29. S.S. Bartchy, 'Community of Goods in Acts: Idealization or Social Reality?', in B.A. Pearson (ed.), *The Future of Early Christianity: Essays in Honor of Helmut Koester* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), pp. 309-18; see H. Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), p. 24.

30. B.J. Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1981), pp. 77-78.

31. Bartchy, 'Community of Goods', p. 317.

32. R.E. Brown and J.P. Meier refer to this verse as a 'reliable piece of information' in *Antioch and Rome: New Testament Cradles of Catholic Christianity* (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), p. 35. G. Lüdemann concurs in *Early Christianity According to the Traditions in Acts: A Commentary* (trans. J. Bowden; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989), p. 148.

33. See R. Jewett, *A Chronology of Paul's Life* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), pp. 89-94.

34. See R. Pesch, *Die Apostlegeschichte* (Zürich: Benzinger; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1986), p. 16.

Barnabas and Paul are Hellenistic Jews, Lucius of Cyrene appears to be a Roman immigrant from North Africa;[35] Simeon who was called Niger was apparently an African of darker hue;[36] Manaen the Herodian court companion was probably of Jewish or Idumean background.[37] Each of these leaders, with the possible exception of Paul who had been brought in from the outside, probably represented a distinctive ethnic group within the Christian community.[38] Given the fact that various cultural groups in Antioch lived in different sections of the city, distributed among as many as 'eighteen identifiable ethnic quarters',[39] commensality between them would have been remarkable in the extreme. The new study by Andreas Feldkeller takes this pluralistic quality of Antiochene Christianity into account, referring to the 'table fellowship between Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians' which had developed on the basis of abandoning kosher food laws.[40]

The evidence in Gal. 2.12-15 establishes beyond reasonable doubt that commensality across cultural lines had become a regular feature of

35. Pesch, *Die Apostlegeschichte*, p. 17.

36. Pesch suggests (*Die Apostlegeschichte*, p. 17) on the basis of the semitic background of the name Simeon that he probably derived from a proselyte family in Africa.

37. See F.O. Garcia-Treto, 'Herod', *Harper's Bible Dictionary*, pp. 385-88.

38. See the assessment by F.W. Norris, 'Artifacts from Antioch', in D.L. Balch (ed.), *Social History of the Matthean Community: Cross-Disciplinary Approaches* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), p. 249.

39. R. Stark, 'Antioch as the Social Situation for Matthew's Gospel', in Balch (ed.), *Social History*, p. 196, making use of information from G. Downey, *Ancient Antioch* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963) and W. Smith (ed.), *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* (London: Wilton & Maberly, 1857), p. 143. J.E. Stambaugh and D.L. Balch, *The New Testament in its Social Environment* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1986), report that at least two of the primary sections of Antioch were walled off from each other, apparently to prevent domestic strife. G. Downey evaluates the evidence of factional strife in Antioch around 40 CE in *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucia to the Arab Conquest* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), pp. 192-94. See also the account of the Jewish community in Antioch by W.A. Meeks and R.L. Wilken, *Jews and Christians in Antioch in the First Four Centuries of the Common Era* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978), pp. 2-13.

40. A. Feldkeller, *Identitätssuche des syrischen Urchristentums. Mission, Inkulturation und Pluralität im ältesten Heidenchristentum* (NTOA 25; Freiburg Schweiz: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), p. 147. See pp. 123-201 for his discussion of 'Innerchristliche Pluralität' in Antioch.

Antiochene Christianity. Paul reports that before the delegation arrived from James, Peter 'used to eat with the Gentiles'. The use of the imperfect verb συνήσθιεν 'suggests that Cephas ate with Gentile believers repeatedly or habitually, and not just once', as Longenecker correctly infers.[41] In the light of a love-feast system that celebrated the Lord's Supper within the context of a shared meal, it is unnecessary to choose between Peter's eating only ordinary meals with the Galatian Gentiles[42] or participating regularly in the sacrament.[43] It was both,[44] because the love-feast constituted the sacramental meal. The logical means of extending hospitality to a travelling emissary such as Peter was the love-feast,[45] celebrated in many house and tenement churches on a daily basis. That Peter was not merely an isolated Jewish guest in the home of a Gentile patron is strongly suggested by the wording of 2.13, 'and the rest of the Jewish believers joined him in playing the hypocrite'.[46] These Jewish Christians, including Barnabas, must have been in the same location with Peter at the time of the meal in which Peter succumbed to this pressure from Jerusalem. As Longenecker explains, 'as Jewish believers in Jesus, their practice, like that of Cephas, had been to fellowship with Gentile believers on a nonrestrictive basis'.[47] The protasis of Paul's charge against Cephas, 'If you, a Jewish believer, can live like a Gentile and not like a Jew' (Gal. 2.14),[48] seems to presuppose that he had abandoned Jewish dietary regulations when eating with Gentiles.[49] The first person plural formulation of 2.15, 'we who are

41. Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 73. See also Betz, *Galatians*, p. 107.

42. Burton, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, p. 104.

43. H. Schlier, *Der Brief an die Galater* (MeyerK 7; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 10th edn, 1949), p. 83.

44. See F.F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), p. 129.

45. See Reicke, *Agapenfeier*, pp. 21-38.

46. Translation from Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 75.

47. Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 75; the recent study by N. Taylor, *Paul, Antioch and Jerusalem: A Study in Relationships and Authority in Earliest Christianity* (JSNTSup 66; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), p. 125, concurs that 'Table fellowship between Jewish and Gentile Christians is therefore clearly involved in this episode'.

48. Translation from Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 78.

49. Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 78; Betz, *Galatians*, p. 112. J.D.G. Dunn suggests a less radical departure, namely that Peter had acquiesced in an alleged Antiochene practice of following only the 'basic food laws' in their common meals, but that he subsequently was forced by the Jerusalem emissaries to adopt a stricter standard of kosher meals; see 'The Incident at Antioch', *JSNT* 18 (1983), pp. 31-36.

Jews by birth', confirms that Paul was addressing a number of Jewish Christians in the context of this controversial meal. Betz refers to this expression as 'a "self-definition" of Jewish Christianity',[50] without drawing the obvious inference that such persons must have been present in the meal with the Gentiles.[51] Paul explicitly states that he confronted Peter ἔμπροσθεν πάντων (2.14), before them all in a 'plenary assembly' that included both Jewish and Gentile Christians.[52]

Gal. 2.11-14 indicates the power of the Judaizers to exert pressure through James to halt the communal meals as previously practised in Antioch. Peter withdrew from commensality with the Gentiles 'for fear of the circumcision faction' (Gal. 2.12). And despite the brave speech denouncing this action that Paul claims to have made, most scholars agree with Bengt Holmberg that Paul lost the battle at Antioch and subsequently emerged 'as an independent missionary and apostle'.[53] It is likely that a new system of culturally separate meals emerged at Antioch. Ethnic celebrations of the Lord's Supper would probably have had to be organized to accommodate kosher and non-kosher diets.[54] Commensality across cultural lines was in effect abandoned.

It is clear that Paul passionately disagreed with this separation into culturally limited love-feasts as a violation of the gospel. To 'walk in line with the gospel' (2.14) implied overcoming cultural barriers and joining love-feasts that embodied equality in Christ. The gospel therefore includes a new ethical and social situation that Paul articulates later in Gal. 3.26-28: 'in Christ Jesus you are all sons of God through

For the skeptical assessment by Rabbi D. Cohn-Sherbok on this theory, see 'Some Reflections on James Dunn's: "The Incident at Antioch" (Gal. 2.11-18)', *JSNT* 18 (1983), pp. 71-72.

50. Betz, *Galatians*, p. 115.

51. Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 83, broadens the reference to 'all Jewish Christians, whether at Jerusalem, Antioch, or Galatia', but it is clearly the audience at a particular Antiochene love feast that was most directly addressed.

52. Betz, *Galatians*, p. 111.

53. B. Holmberg, *Paul and Power: The Structure of Authority in the Primitive Church as Reflected in the Pauline Epistles* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978), p. 34. He lists the scholars who agree that Paul 'lost' the battle: Schmithals, Georgi, Nickle, Stuhlmacher, Kasting, Eckert, Haenchen, Koester, Holtz, Mussner and Catchpole. To this list may be added Bacon, Dunn, Longenecker, Taylor, and the Brown and Meier study, *Antioch and Rome*, p. 39.

54. See Holmberg, *Paul and Power*, p. 33; Taylor, *Paul, Antioch and Jerusalem*, p. 138; and Feldkeller, *Identitätssuche*, p. 147.

faith...There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus'. Whereas scholars have habitually separated Pauline ethics from his theology, defining the gospel in strictly theological terms, it is clear that he made no such distinction. Paul's view is that the gospel establishes a cross-cultural requirement of sharing material and spiritual resources together, constituting a new kind of fictive family that sought to overcome the clannishness of Graeco-Roman social life. 'Mutual responsibility and personal accountability' within the context of the church as suggested by Gal. 6.2, 5[55] may thus be understood as consistent with κοινωνία in the form of sharing goods between catechumens and teachers in 6.6.[56] The obligation established by the gospel is to 'work for the good of all, and especially for those of the household of faith' (6.10). This is not a paradoxical limitation of the obligation 'to disregard all ethnic, national, cultural, social, sexual, and even religious distinctions within the human community', to use Betz's formulation.[57] When the Pauline premise about the inclusive love-feast is taken into account, the 'household of faith' is in fact precisely the arena where love that transcends traditional cultural and social barriers was embodied.

3. *Commensality and the Theology of Galatians*

These reflections on gospel and commensality throw light on the larger task of describing the theology of Galatians and placing this theology within the framework of other aspects of early Christianity. If the creation and sustaining of local love-feast systems is integral to the gospel, theological frameworks such as those proposed by Robin Scroggs and Richard B. Hays are required. In the first volume of essays produced by the Pauline Theology Seminar of the Society of Biblical Literature, Scroggs proposes a salvation history scheme that combines the past events of Israel's history and the Christ-event with the present status of the redeemed community and the future fulfilment.[58]

55. J.M.G. Barclay, *Obeying the Truth: A Study of Paul's Ethics in Galatians* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988), pp. 158-63, esp. p. 162.

56. See Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, p. 163.

57. Betz, *Galatians*, p. 311.

58. R. Scroggs, 'Salvation History: The Theological Structure of Paul's Thought (1 Thessalonians, Philippians, and Galatians)', in J.M. Bassler (ed.), *Pauline Theology*. I. *Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, Philemon* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), pp. 222-24.

Hays proposes a narrative framework that includes the community 'in Christ' as an integral aspect of the gospel.[59] While neither of them discusses the love-feast as the distinctive center of the new community, their frameworks are large enough to encompass the church as a crucial aspect of what Paul calls 'a new creation' established by the crucified one (Gal. 6.15). That this new creation overcomes the 'ethnic restrictiveness' of traditional covenantal nomism is vigorously argued by James D.G. Dunn in the same volume.[60]

The wording of Gal. 2.14 and its correlation with other aspects of the Pauline letters requires some substantial qualifications of the usual efforts to define the gospel as a purely doctrinal matter. Whereas Gerhard Friedrich offered the memorable formula, 'to sum up the content of the Gospel in a single word, it would be Jesus the Christ',[61] one should say in the light of Gal. 2.14 that the gospel concerning Jesus the Christ breaks down ethnic barriers and institutes new forms of *koinonia*. This corresponds to what Hays discovered in investigating Gal. 6.2, 'that Paul employs "the law of Christ"...as a reference to the pattern of action...exemplified by the Christ who bore the burdens of others in becoming a curse "for us"'.[62] This paradigm of sharing everyday burdens together was not merely 'a moral ideal for the individual believer' but was intended to be enacted by 'the community of believers in their relations with one another...The loving community...finds its moral imperative in the story of the cross'.[63] This is why the violation of the love-feast at Antioch entailed a failure to walk according to the 'gospel'.

It is therefore consistent for Paul to speak in 2 Corinthians of 'the submission expressed by the contractual agreement to the gospel of Christ'[64] in the form of participation in the *koinonia* of the Jerusalem

59. R.B. Hays, 'Crucified with Christ: A Synthesis of the Theology of 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Philemon, Philippians, and Galatians', in Bassler (ed.), *Pauline Theology*, p. 233.

60. J.D.G. Dunn, 'The Theology of Galatians: The Issue of Covenantal Nomism', in Bassler (ed.), *Pauline Theology*, p. 132.

61. G. Friedrich, 'εὐαγγελίζομαι, κτλ.', *TDNT*, II, p. 731.

62. R.B. Hays, 'Christology and Ethics in Galatians: The Law of Christ', *CBQ* 49 (1987), pp. 286-87.

63. Hays, 'Christology and Ethics', pp. 289-90.

64. See the translation and discussion by H.D. Betz, *2 Corinthians 8 and 9: A Commentary on Two Administrative Letters of the Apostle Paul* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), p. 123.

offering (2 Cor. 9.13). The gospel requires partnership in material resources, and in particular the obligation of sharing between ethnic groups as in the Gentile offering for the saints in Jerusalem. Such sharing should not be viewed as merely a voluntary consequence of faith in the gospel but as an essential aspect of such faith. To accept the gospel, as far as Paul was concerned, required participation in love-feasts both local and ecumenical. His churches therefore appear to be creative extensions of what Crossan has identified as 'the heart of the original Jesus movement, a shared egalitarianism of spiritual and material resources'.[65]

65. Crossan, *Historical Jesus*, p. 341. Note that Crossan observes on p. 342 that the vision of commensality within an egalitarian community would have been well understood by Paul.

Part III
GOSPEL IN ROMANS

'FOR I AM NOT ASHAMED OF THE GOSPEL' (ROM. 1.16): THE GOSPEL AND THE FIRST READERS OF ROMANS

Steve Mason

Always willing to seek out the truth in any position, Richard Longenecker is nonetheless immune to the fads and conceits of NT scholarship. Rather than trying to explain tensions within Paul's letters by some comprehensive synthesis—whether psychological, developmental or theological—he prefers to trace differences of emphasis to the various local contexts in which Paul worked. The present effort to understand 'gospel' in Romans adopts that social-historical criterion, and I offer it in tribute to my teacher and friend.

In this essay I shall argue that two old problems of scholarship on Romans—the question of audience and Paul's peculiar use of gospel language (εὐαγγέλιον/εὐαγγελίζομαι)—can be solved together. Paul uses the language of gospel with restraint because he is addressing a group of Christian Judaeans ('Ιουδαῖοι),[1] whose manner of loyalty to Jesus does not yet correspond to Paul's *euangelion.*[2]

1. To ancient ears, 'Ιουδαῖος signified 'Judaean', no less than Βαβυλώνιος and Αἰγύπτιος meant 'Babylonian' and 'Egyptian'. Non-natives who had fully adopted Judaean ways could also be called 'Judaeans' by observers, for Judaean culture was seen as an alternative to other ancestral traditions (Epictetus, *Discourses* 2.9.19-21; cf. Tacitus, *Histories* 5.5; Juvenal, *Satires* 5.14.96-106; Origen, *Against Celsus* 5.41.4-6).

2. To avoid *a priori* interpretation of the Greek term commonly rendered 'gospel', I shall simply transliterate it as *euangelion.* For our purposes, one could as easily say, 'let *euangelion* = X'.

1. *The Audience of Romans*

a. *The Problem*

To call the audience of Romans a problem is admittedly special pleading on my part. In the celebrated 'Romans debate' of recent years, the question of audience has not been a noteworthy bone of contention. Most critics recognize a conflict between the heart of the argument (1.16–11.36), which seems directed toward Judaeans, and notices in the letter's opening and closing sections that seem to address Gentiles (1.5-6, 13-15; 11.13; 15.15-17). But this tension has usually been resolved by privileging the references to Gentiles: the audience is most commonly portrayed as essentially Gentile, with at best a vocal Judaean minority.[3] This consensus is broad enough that recent monographs have tackled aspects of the purpose of Romans on the assumption of a Gentile readership.[4]

Still, it is not difficult to find admissions, from those who suppose a Gentile audience, that their supposition fits uncomfortably with the main argument of Romans. Thus P. Lampe: 'Methodologically, these unambiguous statements [namely those referring to Gentiles] must take priority over the impression easily suggested by the rest of the letter's contents, that in Romans a chiefly Jewish-Christian readership is envisaged'.[5] Likewise J.A.T. Robinson finds a Gentile majority even

3. Cf. K.P. Donfried (ed.), *The Romans Debate: Revised and Expanded Edition* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991). The ten essays from the original volume (1977) all agree on a Gentile audience; of the thirteen new studies, only F. Watson, 'The Two Roman Congregations: Romans 14.1–15.13' (pp. 203-15), proposes a Judaean majority. Representative commentaries, which posit a Gentile majority, are: M. Black, *Romans* (NCB; London: Oliphants, 1973), p. 23; E. Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), p. 15; J.A. Fitzmyer, *Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1993), p. 33. It is curious that C.E.B. Cranfield's influential commentary (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* [ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1975], I, pp. 20-21) has had so little influence on this score. Cranfield denied that 1.6, 13-15 and 15.15-16 implied a Gentile readership.

4. L. Gaston, *Paul and the Torah* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987), pp. 22-23, 116; N. Elliott, *The Rhetoric of Romans: Argumentative Constraint and Strategy and Paul's Dialogue with Judaism* (JSNTSup 45; Sheffield: JSOT, 1990), pp. 20-21, 67, 95, 105, 167; L.A. Jervis, *The Purpose of Romans: A Comparative Letter Structure Investigation* (JSNTSup 55; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), pp. 77, 103-104, 159-60.

5. P. Lampe, *Die stadtrömischen Christen in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten:*

while admitting that 'the whole epistle presupposes a Jewish, Old Testament and rabbinic background and would be unintelligible to those who knew nothing of it'.[6] Although W.G. Kümmel characterizes Romans as 'essentially a debate between the Pauline gospel and Judaism, so that the conclusion seems obvious that the readers were Jewish Christians', he nevertheless deduces a Gentile readership because 'the letter contains statements which indicate specifically that the community was Gentile-Christian'.[7] Kümmel is adamant: 'Any attempt to gain a picture of the readers of Rom[ans] must be made from this established point of view'.[8]

It is odd, however, that contemporary scholars should attribute axiomatic importance to the introductory references to Gentiles, when F.C. Baur could make precisely the opposite assumption. Unlike most of his predecessors, the early Baur saw chs. 9–11 as the core ('germ and centre') of the argument of Romans, and this only confirmed his reading of chs. 1–8, which made it 'impossible to suppose that he [Paul] had any other readers than Jewish Christians before his mind'.[9] This reasoning was so widely followed for a few decades that in 1876 H.J. Holtzmann could pronounce the demise of the 'older opinion' that Romans addressed a Gentile readership.[10] Today, however, Baur's thesis is almost universally dismissed as a curiosity. Scholars routinely cite against it the 'clear' references to Gentiles in 1.1-15 and 11.13.[11]

What should be done, then, with a letter that, while apparently addressed to Gentiles in parts of the opening and closing, devotes itself

Untersuchungen zur Sozialgeschichte (WUNT, 2nd ser.; Tübingen: Mohr [P. Siebeck], 2nd edn, 1989), p. 54. My translation.

6. J.A.T. Robinson, *Wrestling with Romans* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1979), p. 7.

7. W.G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament* (trans. H.C. Kee; Nashville: Abingdon, 1975), p. 309.

8. Kümmel, *Introduction*, p. 310.

9. F C. Baur, *Paul, the Apostle of Jesus Christ: His Life and Work, his Epistles and his Doctrine; A Contribution to the Critical History of Primitive Christianity* (trans. E. Zeller; London: Williams & Northgate; 2nd edn, rev. A. Menzies, 1876), I, p. 338.

10. 'Umschau auf dem Gebiet der neutestamentlichen Kritik', *Jahrbuch für protestantische Theologie* 2 (1876), p. 280; cited in W. Schmithals, *Der Römerbrief als historisches Problem* (SNT 9; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1975), p. 27.

11. Schmithals, *Der Römerbrief*, pp. 27-28; W. Wiefel, 'The Jewish Community in Ancient Rome and the Origins of Roman Christianity', in Donfried, *The Romans Debate*, pp. 85-86, 96.

to Judaean concerns with the distinction between Judaeans and Greeks (1.18–2.16), circumcision and physical descent from Abraham (chs. 3–4), the status of torah (chs. 6–8), and the election of Israel (chs. 9–11); in which Paul calls his readers 'people who know the law' (7.1), flatly states that they formerly lived under the law (7.4-6; 8.3), speaks to them as Judaeans in the second and first persons (2.17-29; 3.9, 27; 4.1), and expects them to appreciate an unparalleled abundance of scriptural allusions[12]—even to such arcana as the mercy seat on the ark of the covenant (3.25)? Within the introduction itself, in spite of its putative address to Gentiles, Paul introduces a unique complex of references to the prophets of holy scripture (1.2) and King David (1.3). Why? Schmithals has formulated the problem with customary clarity: 'The content of chs. 1–11 appears, in both its details and its whole thrust, to speak against the Gentile-Christian identity of the addressees'.[13]

To make the common thesis of a Gentile majority more viable, scholars have tried in various ways to mitigate the force of chs. 1–11. Thus we have seen claims that the 'law' known by the readers of Romans (7.1) could mean 'law' in general[14]—even though it contains commandments such as 'you must not covet', and is called the 'holy' law under which Paul and his readers have lived, now supplanted by the coming of the spirit (7.5-12); that Gentiles could equally well be described as 'those who know the law'; and that they too would have been concerned about scriptural interpretation and problems such as the status of Israel.[15] Other scholars have understood the argument of Romans to be an epitome of Paul's previous teaching or a primer for his impending trip to Jerusalem—in either case, not specially relevant to concerns of the Gentile Roman community.[16]

Moreover, study of the diatribe and of rhetorical genres has been

12. I count some sixty deliberate citations of scripture in Romans, exclusive of the many conflations and allusions. 1 Corinthians, which is about the same length as Romans, has only seventeen; Galatians and 2 Corinthians, which both deal extensively with issues of Judaean heritage, have only ten each.

13. Schmithals, *Der Römerbrief*, p. 11. My translation.

14. Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans*, p. 187.

15. Cranfield, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, I, pp. 18-19; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, p. 34. But see Schmithals, *Der Römerbrief*, pp. 87-88.

16. T.W. Manson, 'St Paul's Letter to the Romans–and Others'; G. Bornkamm, 'The Letter to the Romans as Paul's Last Will and Testament'; and J. Jervell, 'The Letter to Jerusalem', in Donfried (ed.), *The Romans Debate*, pp. 3-15, 16-28 and 53-64.

exploited to argue that because Paul's 'interlocutor' is a rhetorical device, the typically Judaean questions that Paul answers need not reflect the community's own problems at all. For example, when Paul disavows 'sinning so that good may come' (6.1; 3.8), he is not responding to a Judaean caricature of his own teaching, but is himself ruling out an antinomian position among Gentile Christians.[17] Having defined Romans as epideictic rhetoric, D. Fraikin remarks on Rom. 1.18–3.20: 'We are faced, then, with the interesting fact that Paul, in a discourse *whose goal is to strengthen the Gentiles in the gospel*, provides them with the arguments by which he would make his understanding of the gospel and its consequences credible *to Jews*'.[18] Fraikin explains Paul's tactics by suggesting that the Gentiles of Rome would have been deeply concerned about how Judaeans viewed their faith, so Paul provided them with a rationale. The most ambitious attempt to reinterpret the main argument of Romans along these lines is N. Elliott's revised dissertation, which contends that Paul's confrontation of Judaean arguments is meant to serve as a paradigm for his Gentile readers, as a 'protasis' to which they should supply the 'apodosis': if the Judaeans have no special claims against God's wrath, how much more shall we Gentiles lack them?[19]

Without dismissing *a priori* all future attempts to make Romans meaningful to Gentile readers, we may observe that these efforts have not so far proven compelling. The readers of Romans were not highly educated as a group,[20] and we should not credit them with the subtlety of doctoral candidates. Elsewhere Paul is candid about his main points, and so we should assume that the language of Romans—including not only the 'logic' that seems to enthral interpreters, but also the sound of the words and phrases, the emotive tone with which Paul declares his esteem for Judaean traditions (1.2-3; 3.1-2, 31; 7.12; 9.4-5; 11.25-36)[21]—

17. W.S. Campbell, 'Romans III as a Key to the Structure and Thought of the Letter', in Donfried (ed.), *The Romans Debate*, pp. 261-62.

18. D. Fraikin, 'The Rhetorical Function of the Jews in Romans', in P. Richardson and D. Granskou (eds.), *Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity* (Studies in Christianity and Judaism 2; Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1986), I, p. 98. Emphasis added.

19. Elliott, *Rhetoric*, pp. 131-32, 141-42.

20. Lampe, *Die stadtrömischen Christen*, pp. 135-63.

21. Elliott, for example, seems to miss the crucial non-rational aspects of rhetoric when he suggests that Judaeans would not have been persuaded by Paul's logic (*Rhetoric*, pp. 171-73). W. Wuellner's oft-cited essay ('Paul's Rhetoric of

was meant to find a ready reception. Paradoxically, it is the 'rhetorical' approaches to Romans, with their debates about epideictic and deliberative, or about where the exordium ends, that have become the worst offenders against the criteria of intelligibility and persuasiveness: it strains the imagination that Paul could have intended such indirect arguments to find any resonance with Gentile readers, no matter how well they understood the mechanics of the diatribe. Significantly, a specialist in rhetoric from outside the circles of NT scholarship supposes that in Romans Paul faces 'two main rhetorical problems': his lack of personal acquaintance and 'the probability that there will be among them [the readers] those clinging to the law and hostile to aspects of his message'.[22] Schmithals is right: a Gentile community receiving this letter should have sent it back as misdirected mail![23]

One clever strategy for increasing the Gentile readership of Romans requires that the word συγγενής, which is used of Andronicus, Junia, and Herodion in the greetings of 16.7, 11, 21, be read as a code for Judaean Christians.[24] Lampe infers that the other twenty or so names on the list are Gentile.[25] But the word συγγενής ordinarily means 'relative' or 'kin', not 'fellow national'. In its six NT occurrences outside Paul's letters, it always refers to a *family member*.[26] In its only Pauline appearance outside of Romans 16, the word is likewise paired with ἀδελφός, 'brother' (Rom. 9.3). That both words refer to Israelites in that case (9.4) does not suggest that συγγενής should mean 'Israelite' elsewhere, any more than ἀδελφός should. They are metaphors indicating filial affection. Paul includes everyone mentioned in Romans 16 under one or another term of endearment—my beloved (16.5, 8, 9, 12), brother/sister (14, 15, 17), fellow worker (3, 6, 9, 12), mother (13),

Argumentation in Romans: An Alternative to the Donfried–Karris Debate over Romans', in Donfried [ed.], *The Romans Debate*, pp. 128-46) recognizes the importance of ethos, at least in principle (pp. 133-34, 137).

22. G.A. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), p. 152. Kennedy is also sensitive to non-rational indices such as Paul's arrangement of words, including rhetorical questions, 'to express emotion' (p. 155).

23. Schmithals, *Der Römerbrief*, pp. 31-32.

24. Cranfield, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, I, p. 18; P. Lampe, 'The Roman Christians of Romans 16', in Donfried (ed.), *The Romans Debate*, pp. 224-25; F. Watson, 'Congregations', pp. 208, 210-11.

25 Lampe, 'Romans 16', pp. 224-25.

26. Cf. Lk. 1.58; 2.44; 14.12; 21.16; Acts 10.24; Jn 18.26, and LSJ *ad loc.*

and relative (7, 11, 21)—effectively rotating these terms to suit the individual. Within this context, where he is trying to build bridges with affectionate language, we may not single out συγγενής and read it as a cipher for 'Judaean'.[27]

Perceiving the difficulty in dissociating Paul's discussion of Judaean issues (chs. 1–11) from the real needs of the readers, several critics have drawn the inevitable but problematic conclusion that the Gentile recipients themselves must have had a strong attachment to Judaean ways.[28] Schmithals proposes that the readers had been adherents of the synagogue, like virtually all first-generation converts to Christianity,[29] but could not follow through as far as proselytism, and so found in Christianity an attractive alternative.[30] But what sort of Gentile Christians, who could be so matter-of-factly addressed *as* Gentiles (1.6, 13), would be inclined to think that God was the God of Judaeans only (3.29), would be tempted to boast about their role as a light to the nations (2.17), could be grouped with Paul as *physical* descendants of Abraham (4.1), or would assume the importance of circumcision (2.25)? Moreover, Gentiles who had embraced Christianity because it *lacked* the stringent requirements of Judaeanism would presumably not have adopted a traditional Judaean standpoint over against Paul. We have several letters from Paul to Gentiles—also former God-fearers on Schmithals's view—and those letters are not like Romans.

The diplomatic solution of a mixed audience, with no clear Gentile or Judaean majority, does not really help to explain the evidence.[31] For if there was an important enough Judaean contingent to account for Romans 1–11, then Paul had no business addressing his readers without qualification as Gentiles, Greeks and barbarians. I suspect that many commentators are subliminally aware of this problem, for they tend to speak of the 'Gentile' audience when discussing the introduction, but

27. In 16.21 Paul identifies Timothy as ὁ συνεργός μου, and three other current companions—Lucius, Jason, and Sosipater— συγγενεῖς μου. Does he mean that the three (of uncertain identity) are Judaeans, while Timothy, who was apparently born of a Judaean mother and circumcised (Acts 16.1-3), is not?

28. Schmithals, *Der Römerbrief*, pp. 65-83; A.J.M. Wedderburn, 'The Purpose and Occasion of Romans Again', in Donfried (ed.), *The Romans Debate*, pp. 196-97, 201 (with qualifications); and Fitzmyer, *Romans*, pp. 33-36.

29. Schmithals, *Der Römerbrief*, pp. 76-82.

30. Schmithals, *Der Römerbrief*, pp. 83-91.

31. So also Schmithals, *Der Römerbrief*, pp. 44-50.

then casually allow references to the Judaean minority when dealing with other parts of the letter.[32]

This is by no means an exhaustive account of the exegetical manoeuvres that have been offered as plausible ways of explaining the Judaean and Gentile references of Romans. Braver souls have attempted more comprehensive classifications.[33] My purpose is only to plead for a reappraisal. Given that, by most accounts, the heart of Romans 1–11 deals with Judaean concerns, and in view of the inescapable rhetorical requirement that a letter resonate with its audience's sensibilities, are we really certain that the few references to Gentiles mean what they seem to mean at first glance? Would it not be more efficient to re-examine those three or four statements than to turn the whole letter inside out in defence of a Gentile readership?

b. *External Evidence*

Such external evidence as we possess for the earliest Christian community in Rome also poses formidable problems for the hypothesis of a Gentile community. Virtually everyone agrees that Christianity took root within the established Judaean community of Rome. This consensus is grounded in the notice of Suetonius about the activities of one 'Chrestus', which is plausibly, but by no means certainly, understood as a corruption of 'Christus', which is in turn taken to mean 'Christian teaching' (*Claudius* 25.4).[34]

However we interpret Suetonius, other evidence confirms the Judaean origins of Roman Christianity. First, the Christian community in Rome was not Pauline, and Paul understands himself as the pioneer in his

32. An example of this common slide is Kümmel who declares flatly that 'community was Gentile-Christian' while discussing the greeting (*Introduction*, p. 309) and then allows that it was '*not purely Gentile-Christian*' when discussing other features of the letter (p. 310).

33. For the older and mainly German material, see Schmithals, *Der Römerbrief*, pp. 13-62. A synopsis of the newer studies is in Elliott, *Rhetoric*, pp. 21-43. On the purposes of Romans in general, see Jervis, *Purpose of Romans*, pp. 11-28; Donfried, *The Romans Debate*, pp. xli-lxxii.

34. It is easier to mention some dissenters: M. Sordi, *The Christians and the Roman Empire* (trans. A. Bedini; Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), pp. 25-26; S. Benko, *Pagan Rome and the Early Christians* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), p. 18. Suetonius' friends Pliny (*Epistles* 10.96) and Tacitus (*Annals* 15.44) both know that *Christus* was the founder of Christianity, and Suetonius himself later mentions the *Christiani* (*Nero* 16.2). How, then, could he be so mistaken here?

'*euangelion* of the foreskin' (Gal. 2.9). His self-understanding and the conflicts that he faced over this *euangelion* (cf. Gal. 2.2; 1.10-11; Acts 21.21, 28) would be inexplicable if there had been a prior Gentile mission on his terms: Peter and the others had gone to Judaeans (Gal. 2.7), or had compelled Gentiles to judaize (Gal. 2.14; 6.12-13).[35] It is easiest, therefore, to envisage a non-Pauline community at Rome in the 40s of the first century as Judaean-Christian.

Secondly, Roman Christianity maintained a decidedly Judaean ambience long after Paul's time.[36] This is indicated variously by: 1 Clement (90s CE?), with its low christology and its arsenal of Judaean allusions;[37] the letter to the Hebrews, which is often thought to have been addressed to Rome;[38] Christian borrowing of Judaean burial customs;[39] the Marcionite prologue to Romans, which asserts that the Roman Christians had been taught the 'law and prophets' by false apostles;[40] the assertion in Ambrosiaster's prologue that Roman Christianity began 'according to a Judaean rite';[41] widespread traditions that Peter preached in Rome under Claudius;[42] and Tacitus's evidence (below). Whatever the historical value of the patristic traditions, they at least agree on the surface with other indications that Roman Christianity took root in the synagogues.

35. Antioch is no exception, for Paul is already at the scene when we first hear of Gentile Christians there (Gal. 2.11). Cf. F. Watson, *Paul, Judaism and the Gentiles: A Sociological Approach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 50-56.

36. In general, see Lampe, *Die stadtrömischen Christen*, pp. 58-63.

37. H.B. Bumpus, *The Christological Awareness of Clement of Rome and its Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 8-10.

38. Kümmel, *Introduction*, p. 401.

39. H. Leon, *The Jews of Ancient Rome* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1960), p. 55.

40. That is, the traditional Vulgate prologue to Romans, from the third century or earlier, credited by some twentieth-century scholarship to followers of Marcion; see J.J. Clabeaux, 'Marcionite Prologues to Paul', *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, IV, pp. 520-21. The Latin text is conveniently available in commentaries such as Cranfield, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, I, p. 20 n. 2.

41. E.g., in Cranfield, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, I, p. 20 and n. 1. The 'Ambrosiaster' is the anonymous commentator whose work was attributed to Ambrose of Milan; for the original see CSEL 81: Pars 1, cols. 5-6. English translation is in Donfried, 'A Short Note on Romans 16', in his *The Romans Debate*, p. 47.

42. Eusebius, *Church History* 2.14.6-25.2 (citing Papias in support); Irenaeus (*Against Heresies*, 3.1.1) has Peter and Paul laying the foundations of the church in Rome.

It has often been suggested, however, that the putative Gentile majority among Paul's readers resulted from Claudius's expulsion of Judaeans from Rome in 49 CE. W. Wiefel asserts: 'Expulsion of the Jews from Rome also meant the end of the first Christian congregation in Rome, which up until then had consisted of Jewish Christians. In Paul's letter to the Romans, written a few years after these events, we meet a new congregation'.[43] When the Judaeans returned following Nero's accession in 54 CE, *ex hypothesi*, they found a Gentile community securely in place. The resulting tensions between the two groups are, according to some interpreters, reflected in Romans 14–15.[44] This reconstruction sometimes claims further support from Tacitus's notice that Nero punished Christians for the great fire of 64 CE (*Annals* 15.44), which is taken to imply that Christians were clearly distinct from Judaeans by that time.[45]

But there are serious problems with the expulsion of 'all Judaeans' under Claudius and the Neronian persecution of a Gentile Christian community.

1. Claudius's Expulsion of Judaeans. However they reconstruct Claudius's policies with respect to Roman Judaeans—as a single disciplinary action in 41 or 49 CE,[46] or a ban on meeting in 41 CE followed by expulsion order in 49 CE[47]—most recent writers agree that a wholesale expulsion of Roman Judaeans under Claudius is improbable.[48]

43. Wiefel, 'The Jewish Community', p. 93. Cf.W. Marxsen, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970), pp. 95-104; Donfried, in his *The Romans Debate*, pp. xlv-xlvi, lxx-lxxi, 104-106; Elliott, *Rhetoric*, p. 51; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, p. 33.

44. See the summary in Elliott, *Rhetoric*, pp. 55-56.

45. Fitzmyer, *Romans*, p. 35.

46. V.M. Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius* (Harvard Historical Studies 44; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1940), p. 151; Leon, *Jews*, pp. 21-27; G. Lüdemann, *Paul, Apostle to the Gentiles: Studies in Chronology* (trans. F.S. Jones; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), pp. 164-71; F. Millar in E. Schürer (ed.), *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (rev. and ed. G. Vermes, F. Millar and M. Goodman; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1986), III.I, p. 77 and n. 91.

47. A. Momigliano, *Claudius: the Emperor and his Achievement* (trans. W.D. Hogarth; Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1934), pp. 30-34; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, p. 32 and the works cited there.

48. To the works mentioned in the two preceding notes add Baur, *Paul*, I, p. 328 (already!); Cranfield, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, I, p. 18; Lampe, *Die stadtrömischen Christen*, pp. 6-7; L.H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the*

The evidence may be summarized as follows: (a) Expulsions of groups from the city tended to be haphazard and piecemeal affairs, more symbolic than comprehensive, with plenty of practical exceptions.[49] (b) Although an expulsion of some Judaeans under Tiberius is well attested,[50] the literary evidence for Claudius's action is sparse and contradictory; but the movement of tens of thousands of Judaeans could not have escaped attention.[51] The strongest statement comes from Suetonius's list of Claudius's policies pertaining to foreigners (*Claudius* 25), which asserts without elaboration that the emperor 'expelled from Rome the Judaeans who persistently rioted at the instigation of Chrestus's (*Iudaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit*; 25.4). If 'Chrestus' is a garbled reference to 'Christian teaching', then Suetonius has a hazy picture of the event at best. Even if we arbitrarily took the rest of his statement at face value, the syntax would suggest only that militant Judaeans were driven out.[52]

Describing the beginning of Claudius's reign, Cassius Dio stresses that the emperor did *not* expel the Judaeans, because of their great numbers; he prohibited them from assembling while permitting them to maintain their ancestral way of life (*Roman History* 60.6.6). It is possible that Dio later mentioned an expulsion of Judaeans by Claudius, in the part of his narrative preserved only in Byzantine epitomes,[53] but that speculation would make the silence of Josephus and Tacitus (below) doubly problematic. And the hypothetical missing material would need to explain why an expulsion was feasible later but not in 41. Further, in context (60.5.1-8.3), Dio seems to be describing hallmark policies of Claudius's reign: they may have begun in 41 CE, but they were not limited to that year.[54] Dio apparently understood Claudius's Judaean policy to have involved something less than expulsion.

Josephus and Tacitus are utterly silent, though Tacitus's account of

Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 96-97.

49. See Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.22; R. Macmullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1992 [1966]), pp. 125-26, 132-33.

50. Josephus, *Ant.* 18.83-84; Tacitus, *Annals* 2.85; Suetonius, *Tiberius* 36; and Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 57.18.5.

51. On the number of Judaeans in Rome see Leon, *Jews*, p. 135.

52. Since the participle qualifies *Iudaeos*: Leon, *Jews*, p. 24.

53. The epitomes begin with book 61.

54. Cf. the games instituted on the birthdays of Claudius' parents (60.5.1), the prohibition of emperor worship (60.5.4), or the disbanding of the clubs (60.6.7).

this period is extant in full (*Annals* 12), and he elsewhere relishes the punishments inflicted by Roman arms on the misanthropic Judaeans (*Histories* 5.1-13). Josephus's silence is most conspicuous. Rather than ignoring well-known events that might reflect badly on the Judaeans, he usually explains them away as the fault of another group or a few untypical Judaeans.[55] He could not have expected to make his points effectively by ignoring such an obvious counter-example to his main arguments. Moreover, he remembers Claudius as supportive of Judaeans, even though he does not otherwise present Claudius in the best light; and other evidence for Claudius's dealings with Judaeans confirms Josephus's impression.[56] Agrippa I, who had spent his early years in Rome with Gaius and Claudius (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.143-46; 165-66), undertook dangerous negotiations to secure the reluctant senate's endorsement of the new emperor (*Ant.* 19.236-247). Claudius rewarded Agrippa with a large kingdom (*Ant.* 19.274-75) and consistently decided in favour of Judaean interests.[57]

If we discount the fifth-century Paulus Orosius's mistaken claim that Josephus mentioned an expulsion of the Judaeans in the ninth year of Claudius's reign,[58] then the assertion of Acts 18.2, that Claudius had commanded all Judaeans to leave Rome before Paul's visit to Corinth, is isolated. But the assertion fits the known tendency of Luke–Acts to

55. See S. Mason, *Josephus and the New Testament* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1992), pp. 52-84.

56. Cf. Scramuzza, *Claudius*, pp. 11-18.

57. He issued a strong edict confirming Judaean rights in the empire, in addition to the one that secured Judaean civic status in Alexandria (Josephus, *Ant.* 19.278-91; cf. 302-11). Josephus remarks: 'By these edicts Claudius Caesar showed what he had decided about the Judaeans' (*Ant.* 19.292). The rest of his narrative confirms this impression, for Claudius even overrules his governors in siding with the Judaean positions (*Ant.* 15.407//20.7-14; *War* 2.245//*Ant.* 20.136; *War* 2.245//*Ant.* 20.136). Dio confirms Claudius' gratitude to the Judaean Agrippa (60.8.2), and papyri show the emperor supporting Judaean rights in Alexandria (P. London 1912) or condemning the anti-Judaean activists Isidore and Lampon (*Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* 2.156; cf. Momigliano, *Claudius*, p. 35; Feldman, *Jew and Gentile*, pp. 96-97).

58. *History against the Pagans* 7.6.15. A typical assessment of Orosius' work is that of G.F. Chesnut ('Eusebius, Augustine, Orosius, and the Later Patristic and Medieval Church Historians', in H.W. Attridge and G. Hata [eds.], *Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism* [Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992], pp. 687-713): 'a very bad history. It was neither well organized nor coherent, and constantly confused myth and legend with real historical events' (p. 697).

place Judaeans at odds with Roman authorities and Christians alike,[59] and an exaggerated 'all' is a feature of Lucan style.[60]

In sum: Claudius's measures, whatever they were, do not seem to have effected a decisive change in the life of the Judaean community at Rome. Hence they offer no support for the putative shift from Judaean to Gentile Christianity. This conclusion is reinforced by Paul's own claim that he has longed to visit the Roman community, whose faith is known worldwide (1.8), for 'many years' (15.23). Writing within three years of Nero's accession (54 CE),[61] which allegedly permitted Judaeans to return to Rome, Paul addresses his readers as a settled community. And his main argument (chs. 1–11) continues to assume their Judaean background. It is, as Baur said long ago, 'opposed to all historic probability' that an edict of Claudius brought any essential changes to the constitution of the Roman Judaean community.[62]

2. Nero's persecution of Christians. Equally problematic is the supposition that Christians were distinct from Judaeans in Rome by Nero's time because Nero punished Christians and not Judaeans for the great fire of 64 CE. Although Tacitus is the only ancient author to connect the punishment of Christians with the fire, it seems that Nero did take action against some Christians for one reason or another.[63]

The problem is that, in doing so, he displayed a knowledge of Judaean-Christian affairs that was ahead of its time, and that we should have expected only from an insider. Whereas Roman governors had difficulty distinguishing Christians from other Judaean-based groups,[64] Judaean authorities tended from the outset to see all forms of allegiance

59. See recently S.G. Wilson, 'The Jews and the Death of Jesus in Luke–Acts', in Richardson (ed.), *Anti-Judaism*, I, pp. 155-64; J.T. Sanders, 'The Jewish People in Luke–Acts' in J.B. Tyson (ed.), *Luke–Acts and the Jewish People: Eight Critical Perspectives* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988), pp. 51-75.

60. Lampe, *Die stadtrömischen Christen*, p. 7.

61. Suggested dates for Romans run from 51 CE (Lüdemann, *Paul*, p. 263) to 53 (Sordi, *Christians*, p. 23) to 55/56 (Cranfield, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, I, p. 14) to 57/58 (Fitzymer, *Romans*, p. 87). The date depends on how one assesses: the relation of Acts 18 to the Gallio inscription; the impact of (Felix's brother) Pallas's removal from Nero's court in 55 CE; the date of Festus' arrival in Judaea; and the interpretation of the 'two years' in Acts 24.27.

62. Baur, *Paul*, I, p. 329.

63. Suetonius mentions the fire (*Nero* 38) and the punishment of Christians (16.2) but does not connect them. The claim that Nero persecuted Christians is widespread in Christian authors, e.g. Eusebius, *Church History* 2.25.

64. This situation is presupposed by Acts 23.29; 24.5; 25.19; Jn 18.31; 19.6.

to the crucified Nazarene as alien.[65] It is this Judaean perspective that Nero shares, and not that of his own circles.

Writing some fifty years after the fire, the ex-consul Tacitus still knows the Christians as a sub-group of the Judaeans. He says that the superstition spread 'not merely in Judaea, the source of the disease (*originem eius mali*), but in the capital itself...' (Tacitus, *Annals* 15.44). He goes on to charge the Christians with 'hatred of the human race' (*odium humani generis*), which is the same accusation that he makes against Judaeans in general (*Histories* 5.5). Further, according to a famous passage from Sulpicius Severus, which is commonly thought to have originated with Tacitus, Titus reasons that in destroying the Temple in Jerusalem he will extinguish the Christians along with the other Judaeans (*Sacred History* 2.30.6).[66] Tacitus's aristocratic friends Pliny and Suetonius also know little about the Christians except their name. The spare material that they provide reflects only a dawning awareness of the 'new superstition', even though they, like Tacitus, moved in the highest Roman circles.[67]

Did Nero, then, have special access to a Judaean viewpoint around the time of the fire? This was precisely the period of his notorious marriage to Poppaea Sabina (62–65 CE). Without deciding the precise significance of the term 'God-fearer' (θεοσεβής) that Josephus applies to this woman (*Ant.* 20.195), we may recall that during her brief marriage to Nero both she and the Judaeans enjoyed unusual influence in the imperial court.[68] Two separate embassies from Judaea were able to secure important concessions from Nero at this time, both of which ran counter to immediate Roman interests. And in both cases, Josephus attributes Nero's favour to the mediation of Poppaea (*Ant.* 20.195; *Life* 16).

The contrast between these successful Judaean missions to Nero and

65. Only so can we explain: the Judaean Paul's persecutions of Christians (Gal. 1.13); subsequent Judaean opposition to the Christian Paul (Acts 21.21, 28); the deaths of Stephen and the two Jameses in Jerusalem (Acts 7; 12.2-3; Josephus, *Ant.* 20.200).

66. The admission in this same passage that the two *religiones* are opposed to each other may be the anti-Judaean Sulpicius' own gloss; it does not seem to fit with the claim that they are a single *religio* or with Titus' logic on the Temple, which should be credited to Sulpicius' source.

67. Pliny (an ex-consul), *Epistles* 10.96; Suetonius (secretary to the emperor Hadrian), *Nero* 16.2.

68. On Poppaea's influence in general, see M.T. Griffin, *Nero: The End of a Dynasty* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1984), pp. 101-103.

his punishment of the Christians, at about the same time, provides the ingredients for a solution. In looking for a scapegoat for the fire, Nero could plausibly have targeted any of the foreign groups based in the sectors of the city that remained intact, which probably included the transtiberine (Tacitus, *Annals* 15.40). Christians, like other Judaeans, would not likely have participated in his religious ceremonies to appease the gods, and so would have attracted further suspicion.[69] Circumstantial evidence suggests that his isolation of the Christians came from friends of the Judaeans in his court, while Poppaea was at the height of her influence.[70] It is unnecessary to posit that Judaean community leaders themselves initiated such actions,[71] but it seems likely at least that a friend of the Judaean community educated Nero on Judaean–Christian differences. On this hypothesis, the name 'Christian' was then aired for the first time in higher social circles. It would be remembered only as the name of an egregious Judaean faction until Pliny had occasion to investigate the group more fully.

I am aware that we lack the controls to make this or any other reconstruction of Nero's intentions compelling. But this much is clear: we cannot simply infer from Nero's action that Roman Christianity was predominantly non-Judaean by 64 CE. On the contrary, Tacitus's own description of this event confirms other external evidence that Roman Christianity maintained a strong Judaean connection throughout the period in which Paul wrote his letter.

c. *References to Gentiles in Romans*

If the body of Romans seems to address Christian Judaeans, and the external evidence supports that conclusion, then the few references to Gentiles in this letter carry a considerable burden. Schmithals puts the matter in sharp relief when he claims that the hypothesis of a Judaean audience 'runs aground on the simple fact—and *it is the decisive argument*—that the passages already noted, 1.5, 13ff.; 11.13; 15.15ff., admit no other meaning than this: Paul addresses his readers as Gentile

69. Griffin, *Nero*, p. 133.

70. Nero reportedly murdered her in 65 CE, but he was so obsessed with her memory that he had Sporus castrated and renamed 'Sabina' to play her role; Dio 62.27.4; 28.2-3; 63.13.1-2.

71. Benko (*Pagan Rome*, pp. 14-20): Judaeans in Rome started the fire as a result of mounting tensions with Roman authority in Judaea. They then blamed the Christians.

Christians'.[72] But are these passages so clear that we should go to any lengths to preserve the Gentile Christian majority in Rome?

To be sure, the few advocates of a predominantly Judaean readership have not often dealt with the references to Gentiles more responsibly than the others have with the Judaean material. Baur held that the ἔθνη of the introduction, among whom the Romans seem to be included (1.5-6), should be understood not as 'Gentiles' per se but only as the 'nations'. But granted that the same word has both nuances, in the immediate context Paul cites his apostleship to the ἔθνη in question (1.1), so one cannot avoid the 'Gentile' connotation. Baur conceded that 11.13-36 was a digression directed at the Gentile *minority*.[73] J.C. O'Neill simply excises some of the offending references to Gentiles (1.6, part of 1.15) as scribal glosses.[74] This is an extreme case of Matthean logic, but is perhaps still preferable to forfeiting the whole body! In support of his argument that Paul wrote Romans to persuade a Judaean majority among the Roman Christians to adopt his gospel, Watson echoes a proposal of Baur's followers on 1.5-6.[75] In another context I have suggested interpretations of all the Gentile passages that independently agree with this reading of 1.5-6.[76]

1. In 1.5-6, Paul compares his own mission directly with that of the Roman Christians: he was called (κλητός) to be an apostle (1.1) 'among the Gentiles, *among whom you also are called* of Jesus Christ (ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἐν οἷς ἐστε καὶ ὑμεῖς κλητοὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ)'. Paul does not say that the Romans *are* Gentiles any more than he says that he is a Gentile. Both he and his readers are called to be *among* the Gentiles. This is an appropriate way of describing dispersed Judaeans who live in the capital of the pagan world.[77] That Paul means to evoke Israel's priestly mandate among the nations/Gentiles (Exod. 19.4-6) seems likely from his remarks in 15.16: God called him 'to be a servant (λειτουργός) of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles (ἔθνη) in the

72. Schmithals, *Der Römerbrief*, p. 27. My translation; emphasis added.

73. Baur, *Paul*, I, pp. 332-34.

74. J.C. O'Neill, *Paul's Letter to the Romans* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975), pp. 33, 37.

75. Watson, *Paul*, p. 103.

76. S. Mason, 'Paul, Classical Anti-Judaism, and Romans', in J. Neusner (ed.), *Approaches to Ancient Judaism* (New series 4; South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 81; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), pp. 141-80, esp. pp. 171-75.

77. Cranfield (*Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, I, p. 20) accepts the plausibility of this reading.

priestly service (ἱερουργέω) of the gospel of God'. In any case, 1.5-6 does not imply that the Roman Christians are Gentiles.

2. In 1.13 Paul indicates his desire to come to Rome 'in order that I might harvest some fruit both among you, and even so among the remainder of the Gentiles (καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν καθὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν)'. This notice would indicate a Gentile readership at Rome only if one already assumed that 'the remainder of the Gentiles' stood in relation to 'you'. Elsewhere, however, the churches of the Gentiles are distinct from the community at Rome—with the possible exception of 11.13, to which we shall return below. Thus, Paul is carrying 'the offering of *the* Gentiles'—not 'of some Gentiles'—to Jerusalem (15.16); but he does not so much as suggest a Roman contribution, though he has bent every effort to get money from the Gentiles (2 Corinthians 8–9). His mission in the East has secured 'the obedience of *the* Gentiles' (15.17). He even presumes to convey the gratitude of '*all* the churches of *the* Gentiles' to Prisca and Aquila (16.4), whom Acts portrays as Judaeans (Acts 18.2). He thinks that he has fully preached the gospel among the Gentiles of the East, and now wishes to head for Spain and the West (15.19).

Accordingly, I submit that 'the remainder of the Gentiles' in 1.13 stands in contrast to the Gentiles of the East. This reading is supported also by the phrase τὰ λοιπὰ ἔθνη, which must mean the remainder (cf. λείπω) of the Gentiles—the ones who are *left*—and not merely 'others'.[78] He will harvest some fruit both among the Judaean-Christians of Rome, in passing, and then continue the mission for which he was called among the western *Gentiles*. Paul's audience did not need to read the letter through to discover that he was planning to go to the remainder of the Gentiles, for Phoebe and her entourage would have presented an oral report in bringing the letter, and associates such as Prisca and Aquila doubtless knew his long-range intentions anyway.

3. Verses 1.14-15, which seem to premise Paul's intention to visit Rome on his obligation to 'both Greeks *and* barbarians, both wise *and* foolish', are an insufficiently recognized problem. The apparently easy conclusion, that the Christian community is therefore Gentile,[79] does not

78. *Pace* Fitzmyer, *Romans*, pp. 247, 250. Nor can the phrase easily apply to Gentiles already evangelized in the West; *contra* Cranfield, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, I, p. 20; Jervis, *Purpose of Romans*, p. 108.

79. So Käsemann (*Commentary on Romans*, p. 20—apparently); Jervis, *Purpose of Romans*, p. 104.

explain the τε καί construction of the two pairs (1.14): *both* Greek *and* barbarian, *both* wise *and* foolish. C.H. Dodd had to admit, perplexed, that the distinctions have 'little real force in this setting'.[80] The most natural grammatical readings, if they give full weight to both τε καί and οὕτως, seem excluded by their absurdity.[81] Paul cannot mean that he wants to meet foolish barbarians, after having dealt with wise Greeks for so long, or vice versa, that he would like to visit a community with both elements. His work so far has been precisely in the classically Greek areas of the world, where wisdom was also a significant issue (1 Corinthians 1–4). If he means to apply these categories to his Roman readers, his words amount to a substantial insult. They also render improbable any explanation of the letter body, including the hypothesis of a mixed community.

Granting that the most obvious readings do not work well, we may proceed to several considerations that suggest another interpretation.

a. The derogatory categories 'barbarians' and 'foolish'[82] make better sense with reference to a third party than as a description of the readers themselves.

b. As is well known, the Roman empire was broadly divided along linguistic lines into the East, which was united by the Greek language after Alexander,[83] and the 'barbarian' West, loosely linked by administrative Latin superimposed on the native languages. We have in the western regions, then, a ready referent for Paul's statement.

c. This clause comes immediately after the one (1.13) in which Paul indicates his plan to go to the 'remainder of the Gentiles', which I have taken to mean the Gentiles of the western Mediterranean. Though it would be gauche for him to find barbarians and foolish persons among

80. C.H. Dodd, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1932), p. 8.

81. Cranfield (*Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, I, pp. 83-85) realizes that there is a problem but ends up with an implausible solution: Paul divides Gentile humanity in two different ways (v. 14) and then declares his intention to visit Rome because he is apostle to Gentiles (v. 15). But Cranfield has already rejected claims of a Gentile majority in Rome (p. 21). Fitzmyer (*Romans*, p. 251) searches for barbarians among Paul's converts in the East!

82. See H. Windisch ('βάρβαρος', *TDNT*, I, p. 548) on the unsavoury connotations of the word.

83. On the pervasiveness of Greek in the East, see now F. Millar, *The Roman Near East, 31 BC–AD 337* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), pp. 527-28.

his readers, it would make sense to contrast the western Gentiles to those of the classically Greek regions in which he has worked thus far (Asia Minor, Macedonia, Achaia; Rom. 15.19, 26). This referent would explain the τε καί: 'I cannot rest content with the Greeks [in the East], but must proceed also to the *remainder* of the Gentiles, for I am obligated to both Greeks *and* barbarians, both wise *and* foolish'. With a touch of sarcasm that he hopes his (Judaean) readers will appreciate, Paul employs the language—which had now lost much of its real force[84]—that Greek speakers had customarily used of others.

d. If this is what Paul has in mind, then οὕτως does not mean 'I am coming to you because I am obligated both to Greeks and barbarians, and you people of course fit this description', but rather, 'in fulfilling my obligation to both Greeks and barbarians, I must naturally pass through Rome; hence my desire to visit you'. This interpretation matches Paul's sense in 15.19-24 exactly: it is his mission to Spain that will bring him incidentally through Rome.

e. The adverb οὕτως can point forward to a following premise, as well as (or instead of) backward; it often does so in Paul.[85] Although the major English translations make v. 16 a new paragraph, that sentence begins with γάρ, which is a natural sequel to οὕτως.[86] And the substance of v. 16 serves rather well as justification for Paul's stopover in a Roman-Judaean community, which will occur in spite of his normal obligation to Greeks and barbarians: 'for I am not ashamed of the *euangelion*, for it is the power of God to everyone who trusts, to the Judaean first and also to the Greek!' Although he has been entrusted with a *euangelion* for Gentiles, he is not ashamed for the Judaean Christians to hear it as well (καὶ ὑμῖν). Indeed he believes that the *euangelion*, inasmuch as it levels all humanity before God, requires acceptance from Judaean Christians too (below). That is why he does not hesitate to bring it to them (εὐαγγελίσασθαι; v. 15), whether in writing (the letter) or in person (the visit).

Thus we should arrange the four verses in question as part of the same paragraph, somewhat as follows:

84. See A. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 7-11.

85. Rom. 5.15, 18; 6.19-20; 10.6; 11.26; 1 Cor. 4.1; 5.3-4.

86. Cranfield (*Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, I, p. 86) links v. 16a with what precedes.

> I do not want you to be ignorant, brothers, that I have often intended to come to you—and have been prevented from doing so until now—in order that I might have some fruit among you, just as also among the remainder of the *Gentiles*. [For] I am obligated to both Greeks *and* barbarians, to both wise *and* foolish. [That is why I plan to head West; cf. 15.19-24]. Hence the readiness *on my side* (τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πρόθυμον) [but are *you* willing?] to bring the *euangelion* also (καί) to you who are in Rome: for I am not ashamed of the *euangelion*; it is the power of God for salvation to everyone who trusts, first the Judaean and also the Greek.

Although still connected logically (by another γάρ), v. 17 introduces the revelation of God's righteousness and faith, and so fits more closely with the sequel.

4. For the next reference to Gentiles we must look all the way to 11.13. There Paul has argued with great delicacy and nuance that by admitting Gentiles to salvation God has not forgotten his eternal covenant with Israel (9.1–11.12). That he speaks of Israel in the third person (9.3-5, etc.) does not imply that his audience is Gentile, since he also speaks of the Gentiles in the third person (9.24, 30; 11.11-12), and the Israelites in question are those who, unlike himself and the Judaean-Christians of Rome, have not come to trust Christ (10.1; 11.1, 7). This whole part of his argument is in the abstract, dealing as it does with global questions of salvation history.

Paul has argued that the Gentiles were admitted to the promises by the sovereign act of God (9.14-24), because Israel (by and large) was blind and stubborn (11.3-10). Nevertheless, the admission of Gentiles is designed at least in part to provoke Israel to jealousy (9.23; 10.19; 11.11-12). Having just made this point using the third person for all parties concerned, Paul now adopts the second person: 'I am speaking to you Gentiles' (11.13). He proceeds to warn the Gentiles not to become complacent, for just as they were 'grafted in' to make Israel jealous, they too might be cut off if they prove faithless (11.17-25). He closes with a stunning revelation that accentuates the derivative and provisional place of the Gentiles: when the 'full number' of Gentiles has come in, all Israel will be saved (11.25-26)! The entire argument of chs. 9 to 11 is thus a unity, defending Paul against charges that his gospel nullifies the promises to Israel.

Does this second-person aside to the Gentiles in 11.13-32 imply that his readership includes Gentiles? Hardly. The context requires that the Gentiles in question are not those of any particular locale, but the ones

he has been speaking about all along:[87] the fruits of his Gentile mission (9.30; 10.19; 11.11-12, 13b) who have come into salvation, the ones among whom he has performed the priestly service, and from whom he has collected the offering for Jerusalem (15.16, 26-27). He addresses them directly here, in imaginary convocation, for obvious rhetorical effect. Having castigated Israel for failing to please God, he risks confirming his reputation for having dismissed Israel's heritage (3.8, 31; 6.15; 7.7; cf. Gal. 4.30; Acts 21.21, 28). So he must balance the scale and reassure his readers: the Gentiles have not taken over; they will be similarly punished if they should prove complacent. Although he could perhaps have made the same theoretical point by continuing to speak of the Gentiles in the third person, it is more effective to look his own converts in the eye, while his readers look on, and sternly caution them. In any case, the conclusion (11.25-36) reinforces the integrity of chs. 9–11, and so prevents us from treating 11.13 as a departure from global reflection to speak of the internal situation in Rome; there is no break in the argument here.

5. The only other commonly-cited basis for positing a Gentile majority among the Roman Christians is the content of chs. 14–15, in which some interpreters have found evidence of strained relations between a 'weak' Judaean Christian minority, who worry about dietary restrictions (14.2, 21) and calendar observance (14.5), and a 'strong' Gentile Christian majority, who have no such scruples. Paradoxically, however, even some of those who find a Gentile majority in Rome consider this passage a generalized paraenesis that does not deal with internal Roman problems,[88] while a proponent of the Judaean-majority hypothesis may be the most emphatic representative of the view that a Judaean–Gentile conflict is in view![89] We may, then, assert with some confidence that chs. 14–15 do not require a Gentile Christian majority among the audience of Romans.

87. M. Black is on the right track when he observes that Paul speaks through the Gentiles of Rome 'to the whole Gentile world' (*Romans*, p. 144). Käsemann (*Commentary on Romans*, p. 305) concurs: 'These verses are directed to the Gentiles, without exclusively addressing the Roman readers'. Evidently, these commentators only include Roman Gentiles among the readers because they have concluded from 1.5-6, 13 that the community included Gentiles.

88. G. Klein, 'Paul's Purpose in Writing the Epistle to the Romans', in Donfried (ed.), *The Romans Debate*, p. 36; R.J. Karris, 'Romans 14.1–15.3 and the Occasion of Romans', in Donfried (ed.), *The Romans Debate*, pp. 65-84.

89. Watson, *Paul*, pp. 94-98.

Abstinence from meat and wine, though a widely-admired (and seldom-practised) regimen in the ancient world, was by no means characteristic of Judaeans; they were in fact known for their use of wine.[90] Watson is quite right that individual Judaeans are said to have abstained in peculiar circumstances, when properly prepared food and drink were unavailable; but this observation cannot be applied to routine life in Rome, where there was such a large Judaean population. Even if, as Watson speculates, Christian Judaeans were no longer welcome in the transtiberine quarter (but how could they be excluded, since the quarter was not exclusively Judaean?), the other parts of the city in which Judaeans also lived—the Campus Martius and Subura—would have had the necessary services.[91] A vegetarian diet without wine could more easily be predicated of a heroic sub-group of Judaean Christians than of Judaean Christians as a bloc over against Gentiles.

If Paul's tone requires his knowledge of an internal conflict, then the nature of that conflict should be reconstructed in view of the following considerations: Paul's knowledge of internal matters was evidently limited to what he knew from Roman friends; the one thing that we *know* he knew about internal matters was that some of his readers supported his *euangelion* to the Gentiles (Rom. 16.3, 5, 7, 9); at least some of these supporters were Judaean Christians (16.3, 7); and Paul clearly includes himself among the 'strong', who do not recognize the traditional Judaean categories of clean and unclean food (Rom. 15.1; 14.14). These data do not indicate a Judaean (weak)/ Gentile (strong) conflict, because Paul and his closer Roman friends, the strong, are not Gentiles. The easiest solution, if we are looking for an internal conflict in chs. 14–15, is that some of Rome's Judaean Christians had come to accept Paul's radical re-evaluation of Judaean cultural symbols in the light of Christ, through their association with him elsewhere; others had not, and some of these went as far as abstaining from meat and wine at certain times (at least) in their concern for *kashrut*. An internal Judaean conflict resulting from Paul's influence thus makes the best sense of Paul's remarks, and would fit with the main themes of the letter—the defence of Paul's *euangelion* in relation to Judaean culture—as no other hypothesis does. Admittedly, we lack sufficient data to make a strong case for any reconstruction.[92]

90. Persius, *Satires* 5.179-84; Plutarch, *Convivial Questions* 4.6.2.

91. See Leon, *Jews*, p. 137.

92. It would also explain the peculiarity that Paul withholds the term *ekklēsia*, a

In discussing these questions, we must bear in mind above all the shape of chs. 14–15. For the rhetorical purpose of Paul's discussion of different lifestyles, whatever its precise referent, is to prepare for his appeal: 'Welcome one another, *therefore*, as Christ has welcomed you' (15.7). It needs to be stressed, because it is often overlooked, that this exhortation is not even-handed. The following two verses, beginning with γάρ, reiterate the point of the whole letter (cf. 1.2-4, 16; 3.29): Christ became a servant to the circumcised, in order to confirm the ancient promises, *and* so that the Gentiles might glorify God. Paul is concerned that Judaeans welcome the Gentiles of his mission, and thus recognize his gospel. Accordingly, he supports his appeal with a string of four proof-texts for *Gentile* salvation, which all feature the word 'Gentiles' (15.9-12). Those who accept scripture as normative, evidently, ought then to accept the Gentiles. There is nothing here about welcoming Judaeans. As in the bulk of the letter, Paul continues a one-sided appeal to his Judaean readers. And this passage leads directly into Paul's summary of his priestly work among the Gentiles (15.14-29). The Gentiles of Paul's mission are the ones in need of welcome. The whole letter is aimed at securing that welcome.

To summarize thus far: whereas NT scholars have found the references to Gentiles in Romans so compelling that they have imagined a mixed community with a decisive Gentile majority, I have argued that the bulk of the letter, which should be given interpretative priority, indicates a Judaean readership; that the few references to Gentiles can be more plausibly explained in other ways; and that the external evidence also suggests a Judaean form of Christianity in Rome at the time of the letter.

The criterion for assessing these proposals is not whether each one is immediately obvious. If they had been obvious, we should not have come to our current impasse. My argument is that, given the contradictory surface impressions created by Romans, and the dead-ends that the Gentile hypothesis has created, we ought to ask whether that hypothesis is securely based. I would contend that the proposals above solve more difficulties than they create: Paul wrote the letter to persuade a Judaean-Christian community of his gospel.

byword of his Gentile mission which he uses freely in other letters, from all Roman Christians except the group that meets with his associates Prisca and Aquila (16.3).

2. *The Gospel in Romans*

a. *Peculiarities of* Euangelion-*Language in Romans*

With this argument in hand we may broach our second problem: Why does Paul uses *euangelion*-language in such a peculiar way in Romans? Four peculiarities may be noted.

1. Paul likes to use the noun *euangelion*, and does so thirty-eight times in the undisputed letters. But Romans, his longest letter, and the one that seems to be devoted to elaborating his *euangelion*, uses the word only nine times. Six of these instances occur in the opening and closing sections that we have discussed, with reference to his own mission and the faith of the Gentiles (1.1, 9, 16; 15.16, 19; 16.25). In the same proportion, two of the three occurrences of the verb *euangelizomai* in Romans fall among the opening and closing references to Gentiles (1.15; 15.20), and the third is in a biblical quotation relating to Paul's activity (10.15; see below). Of the remaining three occurrences of *euangelion*: one falls within the short aside to Gentiles that we have discussed, speaking of the Gentiles' acceptance and Israel's rejection of the *euangelion* (11.28); in 10.16 Paul speaks in similar salvation-historical terms of the Judaeans who have not believed the *euangelion*; and in the third case he appeals to 'my *euangelion*' (2.16). The upshot is that Paul nowhere speaks of the *euangelion* as something shared by him and his Roman Christian readers.

To appreciate the significance of this point one needs to recall the central role of the *euangelion* in Paul's other letters, where it is the explicit basis for his bond with his readers: 'For you remember our labour and toil...while we preached to you the *euangelion* of God' (1 Thess. 2.9); 'For in Christ Jesus through the *euangelion* I gave birth to you' (1 Cor. 4.15); '...thankful for your partnership in the *euangelion* from the first day' (Phil. 1.5); 'let your manner of life be worthy of the *euangelion* of Christ...striving side by side for the faith of the *euangelion*' (Phil. 1.27); 'even if *our* [shared] *euangelion* is veiled, it is veiled only to those who are perishing' (2 Cor. 4.3); '...your obedience in acknowledging the *euangelion* of God' (2 Cor. 9.13); 'we did not yield...that the truth of the *euangelion* might be preserved for you' (Gal. 2.5). This sense of partnership between Paul and his readers in the *euangelion* is absent from Romans.

Its absence is the more striking because Paul has ample opportunity in this long letter to cite the *euangelion* when he speaks of what the

Roman Christians have believed, obeyed, or been taught. Strangely, when these opportunities arise, Paul opts for awkwardly guarded locutions: 'But thanks be to God that you who were slaves of sin have obeyed from your hearts the *sort of teaching to which you were given over*' (ὃν παρεδόθητε τύπον διδαχῆς, 6.17).[93] This exultant passage positively demands *euangelion,* but Paul conspicuously avoids it. Why? Similarly, he closes the letter with an admonition to beware of those who create disturbances, 'contrary to the teaching which you have learned' (16.17). Although he recognizes their faith, and addresses them with terms of endearment, Paul does not cite the *euangelion* as the common basis of faith or ethics.

It is a rhetorical necessity that a writer or speaker establish common ground with his audience, and Paul does this at every opportunity in Romans. He cites a common scriptural heritage (1.2-3), physical descent from Abraham (4.1), commitment to Israel (3.1-2; 9.4-5), shared esteem for the law (3.31; 7.12), and common friends (ch. 16). But the *euangelion* is not common ground. Paul's assumption of a certain distance between this audience and his *euangelion* is highlighted by the phrase 'my *euangelion*', which he uses only in Romans (εὐαγγέλιόν μου; 2.16; 16.25).

2. That he associates this *euangelion* with himself and his Gentile converts, but not yet with his Roman readers, is indicated already by his opening self-identification: 'Paul, slave of Jesus Christ, called as [or 'to be'] apostle specially assigned to the *euangelion* of God' (κλητὸς ἀπόστολος ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ, 1.1). It is important here to clarify the sense of the perfect passive participle of ἀφορίζω—'set aside, reserve, appoint'—which I have with deliberate provocation rendered 'specially assigned'.

Commentators have generally referred the phrase to an internal, psychological, or spiritual 'consecration'. Paul is thus portrayed as either reflecting upon his 'conversion' to Christianity, in which he was separated by God from his Pharisaic past (cf. Phil. 3.5-6), or piously recalling the language of Jeremiah about separation for God's work

93. Commentators, it is fair to say, do not make good sense of this line; R. Bultmann simply excised it as a 'stupid insertion' (cited in Cranfield, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, I, p. 323). See now R.A.J. Gagnon, 'Heart of Wax and a Teaching that Stamps: ΤΥΠΟΣ ΔΙΔΑΧΗΣ (Rom 6.17b) Once More', *JBL* 112 (1993), pp. 667-87.

while still in the womb (cf. Jer. 1.5; Gal. 1.15).[94] But why make these points here and now, in this particular letter? What could they mean for these readers? No other letter opening presents Paul as 'set apart'.

Although purely theological senses are always possible, we ought to prefer one that relates Paul's language to the concrete situation of the letter. In this case, I would argue, Paul thinks of himself as specially assigned *vis-à-vis the other apostles* to the *euangelion* of God. This would entail a strong reading of the phrase, for if Paul were in his own mind the apostle responsible for the *euangelion* of God, then the *euangelion* would also in some sense also be reserved for him.[95]

We may note three data that support the stronger reading. First, the participle stands next to the noun 'apostle'. Although a comma is usually inserted between the two words, so that they are independently related back to 'Paul', it seems at least equally plausible that the participle qualifies the immediately preceding 'apostle': he is 'apostle assigned to the *euangelion* of God'.[96] His *euangelion* distinguishes him from the other apostles.

Secondly, we know from Gal. 2.7-9 that Paul really does consider himself the one apostle, in contrast to the others, who has been charged with the Gentile mission. And in that context he associates the word *euangelion* (explicitly) only with his mission (Gal. 2.2, 5, 7). His letters elsewhere reflect his keen awareness of being different from the other apostles on account of his mission to the Gentiles (1 Cor. 9.2; 15.9-10; 2 Cor. 11.5). If *euangelion* has a special significance for the Gentile mission (below), then it would make sense for Paul to portray himself in Rom. 1.1 as its special representative among the apostles.

Thirdly, in Paul's only other self-referential use of the verb 'set apart'

94. Black, *Romans*, p. 34; Cranfield, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, I, p. 53; Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans*, p. 6; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, pp. 229, 232.

95. Cf. Josephus, *War* 2.488: successors of Alexander the Great 'reserved' (ἀφώρισεν) for the Alexandrian Judaeans their own quarter of the city.

96. Cranfield (*Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, I, p. 53 n. 1) dismisses this possibility as 'very clumsy' for reasons that escape me. In an unpunctuated text intended for oral presentation, it would be even clumsier to add a third qualifier to the original 'Paul' (in addition to 'slave...' and 'called...') and expect the hearers/readers to ignore the immediately preceding words, which stand in the same case and number. While I might have preferred a definite article before 'apostle' to make this reading absolutely clear, that would perhaps be too strong for the occasion; the customary reading would require, by contrast, an 'and' between 'apostle' and 'set apart'. Why not allow at least a dual apposition?

(ἀφορίζω), he connects it with the *euangelion* and his Gentile mission: 'when he who had set me apart since my mother's womb and had called me was pleased to reveal his son in me, so that (ἵνα) I might proclaim (εὐαγγελίζομαι) him among the Gentiles...' (Gal. 1.15-16). Whatever pious embellishments Paul might have bestowed on the term (e.g., his call 'from the womb'), the point is clear enough that he considered himself specially reserved for the *euangelion* among the Gentiles.

3. Another indicator of the distance between Paul and his Roman readers on the question of *euangelion* is the defensive posture of his opening statement, which colours the whole of the letter: 'For I am not ashamed of the *euangelion*' (1.16). Why should he be ashamed, or even raise the rhetorical prospect of shame? In his letters to Gentiles, as we have seen, the *euangelion* is self-evidently true and decisive; shame is not a prospect. Possibly, he raises the issue in Romans only because he assumes the emphatic agreement of his readers—'Of course, Paul, one could never be ashamed of the *euangelion* that we all hold dear!'—as a way of establishing a common base. But overwhelming contextual indicators speak against such an interpretation. The whole letter is defensive, responding to real or alleged concerns from a Judaean perspective (Rom. 2.25; 3.1, 8, 27, 31; 4.1; 6.1, 15; 7.1, 7, 12; 8.2-3; 9.1-5; 11.25-36).

Further, we know—it is not a matter of speculation—that some Judaean Christians *did* think that Paul should be ashamed of his *euangelion*.[97] They assumed that he had corrupted the apostles' teaching in order 'to please men' (Gal. 1.10-12), and that he had effectively written off Israel and its traditions (Acts 21.21, 28). In social terms, the appearance of having jettisoned one's ancestral laws and of having openly challenged the esteemed leaders of the group, who had in this case been associates and relatives of Jesus himself, would easily explain the charge of 'disgrace'.[98]

Scholars routinely note that the 'sender' portion of Romans is much longer than usual in Paul's letters. They routinely suggest also that he has inserted an existing creed after the introduction of himself (1.2-3), and some allow that this must have been intended to cement the bond with his readers.[99] But these observations need to be focused more

97. See G. Lüdemann, *Opposition to Paul in Jewish Christianity* (trans. M.E. Boring; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), esp. pp. 35-115.

98. Cf. Josephus' assessment of Apion, *Against Apion* 2.143-144.

99. Dodd, *Romans*, pp. 4-5; Cranfield, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, I,

sharply, and as a problem: Why does Paul, immediately after mentioning his own name and his special *euangelion* (1.1) pile up clauses connecting that *euangelion* with Judaean scripture and history? Why is it so untypically urgent for him to say this before he even gets to his 'hello' (1.7)?

It seems to me that the attribution of 1.3-4 to a 'pre-Pauline formula' has dulled our sensitivity to the defensive tone of this novel introduction. Paul says that the *euangelion* about Jesus was announced in the prophets of holy scripture, and that Jesus was a scion of David according to the *flesh*, yes (1.2-3); but his resurrection from the dead puts things on another plane entirely. Now designated son of God in *power* according to the *holy spirit*, he is the Lord who invites the obedience of Gentiles as well (1.4-5). That vv. 2-3 are concessive is signalled by the vivid contrast between the boo-word 'flesh' and the hurrah-word 'spirit'. The connotations of these categories would not be lost on any ancient reader, and elsewhere Paul applies them with rhetorical force precisely to the distinction between Judaean Christianity and his *euangelion* (Phil. 3.2-3, 18-20; 2 Cor. 3.15-18; Gal. 3.1-5; Rom. 8.1-8).

Paul is thus not arguing here for a balanced view of Jesus' human and divine pedigrees, or simply citing a creed.[100] He is making a programmatic statement that sets the pace for what will follow from v. 16, after the obligatory thanksgiving: he is out to explain and defend the '*euangelion* of God' among readers who have not yet accepted it.

4. Finally, just where we should most expect to find the *euangelion* invoked as common ground, in his otherwise generous thanksgiving, Paul confounds us by referring to 'the readiness on my part to *bring the euangelion* (εὐαγγελίσασθαι) also to you who are in Rome' (1.15). What a thing to say in an otherwise diplomatic letter opening! In his typical letters to Gentiles, the verb consistently refers to the past, when Paul first established the community with his *euangelion*.[101] It is therefore unlikely that his Roman readers, who were already well established (1.8), valued the *euangelion* as a term of self-evident supreme good, in

p. 57; Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans*, pp. 10-11; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, pp. 228-30. Jervis (*Purpose of Romans*, pp. 72-75, 85) draws attention to the unusual length of the 'sender' field.

100. On this reading, I see no reason to suppose that Paul is using a creed at all. If he is, he has thoroughly adapted it to his current need.

101. 1 Cor. 1.17 (linked with baptizing); 9.16, 18; 15.1-2; 2 Cor. 10.16; 11.7; Gal. 1.8, 11, 16, 23; 4.13. He occasionally uses the verb, sarcastically, of others' activities in his churches (Gal. 1.9).

the way that Paul did. If they had done, his comment would have amounted to an insult. We should rather conclude, in line with everything we have seen so far, that *euangelion*-language has special significance for Paul and his Gentile mission.

The two other occurrences of the verb in Romans confirm that Paul considers himself in a unique position to bring the *euangelion.* In 15.20, significantly, he does not say that he has refrained from evangelizing where others have already 'evangelized', but rather that he has refrained from evangelizing 'where Christ has been named'. The place in question is Rome. Although this shift in vocabulary might be intended merely to avoid monotonous repetition, it also happens to fit perfectly with Paul's demonstrated reluctance to call what the Romans believe *euangelion*, and with the peculiar locutions in 6.17 and 16.17. The preceding verse, too, has equated Paul's characteristic preaching to Gentiles, 'by the power of signs and wonders', with 'fulfilling the *euangelion* of Christ' (15.19). The *euangelion* is associated with his mission alone.

In 10.15, similarly, Paul quotes a form of Isa 52.7: 'How beautiful [or timely, ὡραῖοι] are the feet of those who proclaim (*euangelizomai*) good things'. This biblical verse, cited nowhere else in the NT, was not a shared source for Christian use of *euangelion*;[102] Paul is rather engaged in characteristically ad hoc citation of scripture passages that find a putative fulfilment in his mission (cf. his pointed statements in 1 Cor. 9.9-10; 10.11; Rom. 4.23-24; 15.4; also 10.6). Paul picks up this verse, as he does so many biblical passages, because it contains Greek words that serve his present argument.[103] In ch. 10, as in the letter as a whole, he seems to be defending his own mission. He is the one who, convinced that confession of Jesus as Lord is the only criterion of salvation (10.9) and that there is no distinction between Judaean and Greek (10.12), invites *everyone* to call on the name of the Lord (10.13). He is, then, the model of the 'preacher' (10.14), who goes out into the world. The citation of Isa. 52.7 in Rom. 10.15 is most easily understood, then, if his readers know that *euangelion*-language is a special characteristic of Paul's mission. He says, in effect: 'And look at this: scripture even commends those who '*euangelizesthai* [*ta agatha*]"!' Paul's feet are the beautiful or 'timely' ones. If his readers know that *euangelion* is peculiar Pauline terminology, then they should indeed be impressed at

102. Cf. H. Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels* (London: SCM; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990), pp. 2-3.

103. Cf. the string on 'Gentiles' in 15.9-12.

his ability to produce such a scripture verse. Perhaps he already had Isa. 52.7 in mind when he promised to 'evangelize' the Roman Christians in Rom. 1.15. In any case, the context of Rom. 10.15 suggests once again that he links *euangelion* with his own world mission.

How do these peculiarities in Paul's *euangelion*-language relate to the question of audience? A detached reading of K. Donfried's *Romans Debate* would show that they do not make good sense on the common hypothesis of a Gentile majority. G. Klein's proposal, that Paul intends to provide the Gentile Roman community with a proper apostolic foundation, is perhaps the most fully articulated.[104] It is also widely rejected.[105] It would be more plausible if Paul's apostleship had been evident to anyone but himself and his closest associates (cf. 1 Cor. 9.2). In any case, it does not derive from a natural sense of *euangelizomai.*

b. *The Gospel and Judaean Christianity*

If Paul's readers were Christian Judaeans, we have a simple and probable solution to the difficulty—probable, because it hinges on a demonstrable trait in Paul's use of *euangelion.* He most closely approximates the possessive 'my *euangelion*' of Romans when he deals with the judaizing threat in his own Gentile churches.

In writing to Corinth and Galatia, as we have seen, Paul cites the *euangelion* as the basis of communion with his readers. He was the one who established them in the *euangelion*, and he encourages them to maintain their loyalty (1 Cor. 4.15; 9.18; 2 Cor. 4.3; 9.13; Gal. 2.14; 4.13). In both locations, however, Paul's teaching is challenged after his departure by advocates of a Judaean Christianity that proves appealing to his Gentile converts. Paul vehemently denounces these interlopers and their ideas.

His language is revealing. Where his opening thanksgiving would normally stand, an angry Paul marvels that his Galatian converts have so quickly turned to 'a different euangelion, which is not merely another variety of the same' (εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον, ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο, 1.6-7). The judaizers, indeed, 'wish to pervert *the euangelion of Christ.* But

104. Klein, 'Purpose', pp. 29-43.

105. Donfried, 'Romans 16', pp. 44-45; Watson, 'Congregations', p. 213; P. Stuhlmacher, 'The Purpose of Romans', in Donfried (ed.), *The Romans Debate*, p. 241 n. 25; Elliott, *Rhetoric*, pp. 22-23, 28-29; Jervis, *Purpose of Romans*, pp. 26, 163 (although she does think that Paul wishes the Romans to accept him as 'their apostle'); Fitzmyer, *Romans*, p. 76.

even if we ourselves or an angel from heaven should bring a *euangelion* different from the *euangelion* that we brought to you before, let him be accursed!' (1.8). In the face of this judaizing challenge, he begins to use terms approaching the possessive 'my *euangelion*' of Romans: he insists that 'the *euangelion that was proclaimed by me*' comes directly from God (1.11). Similarly, he speaks of his dealings with the Judaean-Christian leaders in Jerusalem: 'I laid before them *the euangelion that I proclaim among the Gentiles*' (2.2). Does Paul really recognize any other *euangelion*? He seems plainly to identify 'the *euangelion* of Christ' with what he preaches.

Most impressive, when Peter and the rest of the Judaeans withdraw from common meals with Gentiles, to satisfy a delegation from James, Paul castigates them for not being 'straightforward about "the truth of *the euangelion*"' (2.14). Evidently, the scruples of these Judaeans prevent them from embracing what Paul considers the *euangelion*—in spite of his exhortation that failure to do so involves rebuilding what has now been smashed to pieces (Gal. 2.18) and nullifying the grace of God (2.21). Similarly, in the preceding sentences Paul has declared that he did not yield to certain 'false brothers' who objected to the freedom that he took in Christ Jesus, 'so that the "truth of the *euangelion*" might remain among you' (Gal. 2.5). Since the false brothers evidently promoted a Judaean Christianity as Peter did ('to enslave us', 2.5; 'you compel Gentiles to judaize', 2.14), it is impossible to avoid associating the two events. For Paul, *the* truth of *the euangelion* is what he preaches among Gentiles.

We observe the same phenomenon in his correspondence with the Corinthians. Although he has given them birth through the *euangelion*, now in the face of a Judaean challenge[106] he accuses them: 'If someone comes and proclaims another Jesus, whom we did not proclaim, or if you receive a different spirit, which you did not formerly receive, or a different (ἕτερον) *euangelion*, which you did not formerly accept, you happily adopt it!' (2 Cor. 11.4). These passages seem to show that Paul is unwilling to connect full-blooded Judaean Christianity—of the kind that would maintain a traditional Judaean regimen in spite of the death and resurrection of Jesus—with his *euangelion*. And it is only in this context of conflict with Judaism that Paul so qualifies his use of *euangelion*. Although he faces many other problems within his

106. See Lüdemann, *Opposition*, pp. 80-97.

churches, he does not link those problems to a 'different *euangelion*' (cf. 1 Corinthians).

I concede that Paul does not maintain an obvious and one-sided antipathy to Judaean Christianity; nor does he withhold the term '*euangelion*' with perfect consistency. He is at least superficially ambivalent toward Christian Judaeans. He formally acknowledges the apostleship of the Jerusalem leaders (1 Cor. 9.5; 15.9; Gal. 2.2); he goes out of his way to reach a diplomatic agreement with them (Gal. 2.1-10); he devotes a remarkable amount of energy, over several years, to the collection for the 'saints' in Jerusalem (2 Corinthians 8–9; Rom. 15.25-29); and he admits Judaean believers as brothers and sisters. Within the context of the Jerusalem agreement, he implies that Peter's preaching to the 'circumcision' parallels his own '*euangelion* of the foreskin' (Gal. 2.7)—though he does not actually call Peter's preaching *euangelion*. Similarly, when he discusses apostles' finances, his quotation of Jesus' remark (1 Cor. 9.14) seems to suggest that the other apostles too proclaim a *euangelion*. But he does not quite say it, and the sequel seems to isolate him and his *euangelion* from the others once again (9.15-18).

None of this, however, can obscure the fact that his most vehement repudiations of the law and circumcision—and those who advocate them—arise out of disputes *within* the Christian camp (Philippians 3; 2 Corinthians 3, 10-13; Galatians 3–4). He openly curses his Judaean-Christian opponents, ridicules them, calls them names and consigns them to perdition (Phil. 3.2, 19; 2 Cor. 11.3-4, 13-15, 26; Gal. 1.8-9; 5.12; 6.12). He admits that the status of the Jerusalem apostles really means nothing to him after all (Gal. 2.6). He counts his own Judaean past as 'dung' in the face of the new creation (Phil. 3.7-8). Although we might prefer to think that he admits their teaching, at least grudgingly, as a 'different kind of *euangelion*' (Gal. 1.6; 2 Cor. 11.4), we quickly realize that his language is sarcastic: for just as there is no Jesus or spirit other than the ones that he has preached, so there is no other *euangelion*.

It is not plausible, in my view, that Paul says all of this only because some judaizers have interfered with his Gentile converts, and that he otherwise has no objection to Judaean Christianity.[107] Such a conclusion does not adequately explain his vigorous arguments for the end of the law in principle, even where he is not writing to his own converts (Rom. 10.14); his consistent claim that the categories of Judaean and

107. *Pace* K. Stendahl, *Paul among Jews and Gentiles* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), pp. 2-3; Gaston, *Torah*, p. 137.

Greek no longer apply in Christ (2 Cor. 5.17; Gal. 3.28; Rom. 10.14); his confrontation of Peter (implicitly also Barnabas, James and others) for not abandoning what Peter understood as appropriate behaviour for a Judaean (Gal. 2.11); his personal example of abandoning torah-observance in the light of Christ's coming (Phil. 3.4-9); and the widespread impression that he encouraged other Judaeans to follow suit (Acts 21.21, 28)—a charge that was hardly invented by the author of Acts (cf. Rom. 3.8, 31; 7.7).[108] It is no coincidence that Paul's relations with Judaea were always strained: originally driven out of Judaea because of his preaching to the Gentiles (1 Thess. 2.15-16), he returned only when absolutely necessary, for brief periods, and always with anxiety (Gal. 1.18; 2.1; Rom. 15.31-32).

This ambivalence toward Judaean Christianity, which seems to result from the tension between a clear ideology (Judaism per se has been supplanted by Christ) and political constraint (Paul must in practice get along with Judaean Christians), is precisely what we find in Romans. On the rhetorical level, he is polite and even expresses the hope that he might learn something from his audience (1.12). He considers issues of importance to Judaeans with great delicacy and nuance (1.16–11.36). But in the end, though he gives them as positive a face as he can, his positions are bad news for traditional Judaean culture. In light of Christ's coming, circumcision, physical descent from Abraham and torah observance have lost their *crucial* significance (3.21; 4.14); in the current moment of salvation history 'there is no distinction between Judaean and Greek' (10.12; cf. 3.9).

Corresponding to this ambivalence, and wholly in keeping with the tendencies of his other letters, is Paul's use of *euangelion* in Romans. We have seen that he does not invoke it as a common basis with his readers. Nevertheless, in Rom. 10.16 he seems to be referring to Israel when he quotes Isa. 53.1 in support of his claim that 'they have not all obeyed the *euangelion*'. If we applied rigorous logic, we should conclude that some Judaeans therefore have obeyed the *euangelion*, and we should perhaps infer from this alone that Paul recognizes Judaean Christianity as a form of *euangelion*. But even on such tight logic, he might only connect Judaeans such as himself—whom he will presently offer as a prime example of faithful Israel (11.2)—or Prisca and Aquila (16.3-5) with the *euangelion*. More to the point, we cannot employ rigorous logic in view of his demonstrable strategic flexibility when

108. See Lüdemann, *Opposition*, pp. 55-59.

speaking to Judaeans (cf. 1 Cor. 9.21-22; 10.32-33). In spite of his posture of openness in this letter, Paul is disinclined to use the language of *euangelion* for what the readers have already believed.

3. *Summary and Conclusion*

I have considered two problems: the audience of Romans and the peculiarities of Paul's *euangelion*-language in this letter. The former problem arises because the references to Gentiles in the opening and closing sections do not match the heart of the letter itself, which presupposes a Judaean-Christian audience, or the external evidence, which attests to the Judaean ambience of Roman Christianity through the first century. I have argued that these few references to Gentiles (a) *cannot* take methodological priority over the orientation of the letter as a whole and (b) *can* be plausibly understood in ways that do not involve a Gentile audience. It is much more economical to understand them this way than to interpret the rest of the letter as if it were addressed to Gentiles.

A case in point is Paul's peculiar use of 'gospel' language in Romans, which was our second question. Paul's defensiveness about *his euangelion*, his desire to bring it to the Roman Christians as if it were something new, and his reluctance to call what they have already believed '*euangelion*', are all difficult to explain by means of a Gentile-majority hypothesis. Yet these phenomena fit well with Paul's observable tendency in other letters to reserve *euangelion*-language for his unique mission to the Gentiles, and to withdraw it from shared discourse with his converts when they move toward Judaean Christianity. The data make the best sense, in other words, if Romans is addressed to a group of Judaean Christians. That Paul was the first Christian to use *euangelion*-language, and that he used it with a particular bearing on his Gentile mission, suggests that the word group was not as meaningful to non-Pauline Christians.[109]

Of course, there may have been some Gentiles among the Roman Christians, perhaps Judaean sympathizers or even proselytes, but the letter does not deal with their particular concerns.

109. This conclusion would have obvious implications for historical-Jesus research; but see already G. Friedrich ('εὐαγγέλιον', *TDNT*, II, p. 727): 'It is thus doubtful... whether Jesus ever spoke of εὐαγγέλιον'.

THE GOSPEL IN ROMANS: A THEOLOGY OF REVELATION

Klyne Snodgrass

If one can say any subject in Paul's letter to the Romans has been neglected, surely that is the case with the theme of revelation. Scholars spend a great deal of time talking about themes such as justification and righteousness, but they do not actually discuss the gospel as an independent subject very frequently, and even less do they offer a comprehensive treatment of revelation. With profound respect and admiration, I offer these comments as a tribute to Richard Longenecker in appreciation for his influence, his friendship, and for the way he models both true piety and scholarship.

The anomaly as to why Romans takes the exact shape that it does continues to leave a sense that none of our explanations—as helpful as they are—is precisely on target. Why did Paul write just these comments to Christians in Rome, whose help he sought for his mission to Spain *after* he went to Jerusalem? If the problem was arrogance and division between Jewish and Gentile Christians, which no doubt were factors (11.18-21; 14.1–15.13), why did Paul write so much about *non-Christian* Jews, rather than treat the subjects of division and arrogance as he did in 1 Corinthians? If his desire was to explain his gospel, why did he not focus more specifically on the gospel rather than on large sections that contribute little directly to its understanding (1.18–3.20; 7.7-25; and most of chs. 9–11)? By comparison, the passages describing the gospel are *brief*. The assertion is often made that Paul needed to show that all unbelievers—both Jews and Gentiles—are unrighteous and that righteousness by faith does not permit righteousness through membership in the covenant or through the law.[1] But would any *Christian* in

1. Note A. Lincoln, 'From Wrath to Justification: Tradition, Gospel and Audience in the Theology of Romans 1.18–4.25', in E.H. Lovering, Jr (ed.), *SBLSP*

either Jerusalem or Rome have thought that righteousness came through the law or by being Jewish? Would not all parties have emphasized the necessity of faith in Jesus Christ, whatever else they may have said about the law and covenant?

The problem of the purpose of Romans will continue to be discussed, but clearly this letter does not merely address a disagreement among Christians. Paul's agenda was larger and encompassed a range of theological issues pertinent to his whole missionary enterprise, an enterprise he was asking the Romans to support. Paul's theology and missionary activity will have to be kept together to understand Romans.[2] Two particular problems needed to be addressed in Paul's mission thinking. One was the problem of Israel's failure to believe, which carried the implication either that God had failed or had given up on his election of Israel. The other was the relation of Jews and Gentiles, a problem that was manifesting itself in the Roman church as well. The collection was important to Paul (15.25-33) precisely because it addressed both these issues.

Without attempting to solve the problem of the purpose of the letter, if we are to understand this document, we must do justice to several key factors: (1) Paul's missionary understanding of the gospel with its universal outreach, an understanding he sought to place before his Roman readers to solicit their support; (2) the situation in Paul's own life as he took the collection to Jerusalem; (3) relations between Jews and Gentiles in the Roman church, which probably were exacerbated by the return of Jews to Rome after the expulsion by Claudius;[3] and (4) Paul's response to criticism from Jews and/or Jewish Christians,[4] some of which

1993 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), pp. 195-96. As important as the focus on gospel and on the problems in Rome is, more needs to be said. Notice, however, his comments about Jewish Christians on p. 213.

2. Note especially N.A. Dahl, 'The Missionary Theology in the Epistle to the Romans', *Studies in Paul* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1977), pp. 70-94; see also W.S. Campbell, *Paul's Gospel in an Intercultural Context* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1992), pp. 81-97; and A.J. Hultgren, *Paul's Gospel and Mission* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985).

3. See W. Wiefel, 'The Jewish Community in Ancient Rome and the Origins of Roman Christianity', in K.P. Donfried (ed.), *The Romans Debate* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, rev. edn, 1991), pp. 85-101; and J.C. Beker, *Paul: Apostle to the Gentiles* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1993). pp. 333-39.

4. See especially P. Stuhlmacher, 'The Purpose of Romans', in Donfried (ed.), *Romans Debate*, pp. 39-40.

dealt with questions of morality and the law, but the most important of which dealt with what Paul's gospel said about God. Because of the suggestion that God has failed or reneged on his promise, Paul's gospel in Romans is partly a vindication of God, and that is one reason the theme of the revelation of the righteousness of God is so important for Paul.[5]

To address these issues, *Paul presents his gospel as a revelation from God which brings a mandate for mission*, a gospel in which the righteousness of God is being revealed (1.17). The focus on gospel and mission is implicit throughout the letter, but these two subjects are explicit primarily in the 'frame' (1.1-17 and 15.14–16.27). Of the nine times the word εὐαγγέλιον occurs, three are incidental occurrences in the body of the letter (2.16; 10.16; 11.28); the rest are in the 'frame' (1.2, 9, 16; 15.16, 19; 16.25).[6] The theme of revelation, however, dominates the letter. Romans is foremost a revelation theology to serve the needs of mission.

Previous discussions have rightly emphasized that εὐαγγέλιον is largely a Pauline word and that its background is to be sought primarily in the servant songs of Isaiah, especially Isa. 52.7.[7] Several avenues are, of course, possible to explain the gospel in Romans. One might focus on the movement from 3.20, where all the world is under indictment before God with not a word of defence, to 8.31-39, where no accuser is present, God acquits, and nothing will separate from the love of Christ

5. Among others, J.C. Beker has emphasized the theme of the vindication of God. See *Paul the Apostle* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), p. 151; *Paul's Apocalyptic Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), pp. 34 and 85; 'The Faithfulness of God and the Priority of Israel in Paul's Letter to the Romans', in G.W.E. Nickelsburg and G.W. MacRae (eds.), *Christians among Jews and Gentiles* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), pp. 10-16. See also my earlier discussion in 'Justification by Grace—To the Doers: An Analysis of the Place of Romans 2 in the Theology of Paul', *NTS* 32 (1986), pp. 75-77.

6. Two of the three occurrences of the verb εὐαγγελίζομαι are in the 'frame' as well (1.15; 10.15; 15.20). Interestingly, the word δύναμις ('power'), which is so closely associated with the gospel, is also virtually limited to the 'frame' (1.4, 16, 20; 8.38; 9.17; 15.13 and 19).

7. P. Stuhlmacher, 'The Pauline Gospel', in P. Stuhlmacher (ed.), *The Gospel and the Gospels* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), pp. 149-72; J.A. Fitzmyer, 'The Gospel in the Theology of Paul', in *To Advance the Gospel* (New York: Crossroad, 1981), pp. 149-61; and J. Reumann, *'Righteousness' in the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), p. 108. See also H. Schlier, 'Εὐαγγέλιον im Römerbrief', in H. Feld and J. Nolte (eds.), *Wort Gottes in der Zeit* (Düsseldorf: Patmos–Verlag, 1973), pp. 127-42.

and God. Obviously 3.21-26 is the first step and the primary statement in that transition and justly deserves the attention it receives.[8] However, regardless of what else is said, 3.21-26 is primarily a *revelation* text. One might isolate other texts felt to be most descriptive of the gospel, but precisely in just such texts, revelation language becomes most obvious and a theology of revelation comes to expression. J.A. Fitzmyer was correct to list as the first of his six characteristics of Paul's gospel that the gospel is revelatory.[9]

1. *The Language Used for Revelation*

One of the reasons that revelation has not received the attention it deserves in analyses of Romans is that no specific word group is used to convey this idea. Rather, at least thirty different words are used to refer to revelation that comes from God and/or the proclamation of that revelation. Words referring to proclamation need to be included in the analysis, for in Paul's thinking part of the revelation of God takes place precisely in the proclamation of the gospel (1.17). The gospel is the gospel *of God* (1.1) because God is the source of its contents,[10] and God is active in it. Most of the words for revelation, however, are explicit references to God revealing himself or his purposes. Since this evidence is often overlooked, the words deserve explicit mention. All occurrences of a word will be listed even though a few of the occurrences refer to subjects other than revelation.

ἀκοή	('report or hearing'—10.16, 17[2])
ἀποκαλύπτω	('reveal'—1.17, 18; 8.18)
ἀποκάλυψις	('revelation'—2.5; 8.18; 16.25)
γνωρίζω	('make known'—9.22, 23; 16.26)
γνωστός	('known'—1.19)
διαγγέλλω	('proclaim'—9.17)
ἐμφανής	('visible'—10.20)

8. In addition to the commentaries and numerous articles, see D.A. Campbell, *The Rhetoric of Righteousness in Romans 3.21-26* (JSNTSup 65; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992); and Hultgren, *Paul's Gospel*, pp. 47-81.

9. Fitzmyer, 'The Gospel in the Theology of Paul', p. 152, although this point receives no treatment in his discussion.

10. Regardless of whether one labels θεοῦ a genitive of origin or a subjective genitive. See J.A. Fitzmyer, *Romans* (AB 33; New York: Doubleday, 1993), p. 232, and E. Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), p. 8, respectively.

ἐνδείκνυμι	('demonstrate or display'—2.15; 9.17, 22)
ἔνδειξις	('demonstration'—3.25, 26)
ἐπαγγελία	('promise'—4.13, 14, 16, 20; 9.4, 8, 9; 15.8)
ἐπαγγέλλομαι	('promise'—4.21)
εὐαγγελίζω	('announce good news'—1.15; 10.15; 15.20)
εὐαγγέλιον	('gospel'—1.1, 9, 16; 2.16; 10.16; 11.28; 15.16, 19; 16.25)
καταγγέλλω	('proclaim'—1.8)
κήρυγμα	('preaching'—16.25)
κηρύσσω	('preach'—2.21; 10.8, 14, 15)
λόγος	('word'—3.4; 9.6, 9, 28; 13.9; 14.12; 15.18)
μαρτυρέω	('bear witness'—3.21; 10.2)
μυστήριον	('mystery'—11.25; 16.25)
ὁρίζω	('designate'—1.4)
προεπαγγέλλομαι	('promise before'—1.2)
προτίθημι	('display publicly'—1.13; 3.25)
ῥῆμα	('word'—10.8[2], 9, 17, 18)
συνίστημι	('demonstrate'—3.5; 5.8; 16.1)
συμμαρτυρέω	('bear witness with'—2.15; 8.16; 9.1)
φαίνω	('appear'—7.13)
φανερός	('visible'—1.19; 2.28)
φανερόω	('reveal'—1.19; 3.21; 16.26)
φθόγγος	('voice'—10.18)
χρηματισμός	('divine statement'—11.4)

Other texts (such as 8.3) also allude to revelation from God, but do not use revelation language. Nor does the above list take into account Paul's use of δόξα, his attitude toward and frequent use of the Old Testament, and his reference to revelation with such words as γραφή ('scripture') and λόγια ('sayings').

If one asks about specific texts dealing with revelation, the list is long. At least the following texts need to be included in an analysis of the gospel as revelation: 1.1-5, 14-20; 2.5-16; 3.1-7, 19-26; 4.13-25; 5.5-8; 6.4; 7.7-14; 8.3-7, 15-24; 9.1-29; 10.5-21; 11.4, 25; 12.6; 15.4-5, 16-21; and 16.25-27.

2. *The Textual Problem of the Doxology in 16.25-27*

The doxology printed at 16.25-27 appears in a few manuscripts after 14.23, in P^{46} after 15.33, in some manuscripts at 16.25-27, in some both following 14.23 and at 16.25-27; it is omitted entirely by a very few. The texts that omit the doxology entirely (primarily only F and G, and G leaves a space) are relatively late, and G also omits the address to Rome

in 1.7 and 15. In recent years scholars have tended to view 16.25-27 as a secondary, non-Pauline addition intended to provide an appropriate liturgical ending which would make the letter more suitable for a wider audience.[11] On this view the doxology is formed along the lines of a so-called 'revelation schema' supposedly attested in later New Testament letters.[12] Scholars disagree over whether the doxology was first added as an ending to the fourteen-chapter version of Romans apparently in use by Marcion and his followers or was added to ch. 16.[13] J.B. Lightfoot viewed the doxology as a later addition coming from Paul's own hand.[14] F.J.A. Hort and W. Sanday and A.C. Headlam agreed the doxology was authentic, but argued that the evidence placed the doxology at the end of the letter and only there.[15] The first and second editions of the UBS Greek New Testament printed the doxology at 16.25-27 without brackets, but the third and fourth editions placed the passage in brackets.

With the textual evidence being as varied as it is—at least fifteen different arrangements exist,[16] certainty is not possible. However, I

11. H. Gamble, *The Textual History of the Letter to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), pp. 121-24; Käsemann, *Commentary*, p. 423; C.E.B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (2 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1975–79), I, pp. 7-8; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, p. 753.

12. Gamble, *Textual History*, pp. 108-109 and 123; and D. Lührmann, *Das Offenbarungsverständnis bei Paulus und in paulinischen Gemeinden* (Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1965), pp. 82-84 and 122-29. M.N.A. Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity* (WUNT 2 Reihe 36; Tübingen: Mohr–Siebeck, 1990), pp. 208-10, argued against the idea of a distinct revelation schema. Usually texts listed along with Rom. 16.25-27 as attesting to this schema include 1 Cor. 2.6-16; Eph. 3.4-11; Col. 1.26-27; 2 Tim. 1.9-11; Tit. 1.2-3; 1 Pet. 1.19-21; *Ign. Magn.* 6.1; and *Herm. Sim.* 9.12. The similarity of Heb. 9.26 should be noted. Does a revelation schema exist or do these texts merely point to the centrality of end-time revelation in creedal statements of the early church?

13. Gamble, *Textual History*, pp. 123-24, argued the doxology was added to the fourteen-chapter version, but does not accept that Marcion was responsible for the shortened form (pp. 104-107). Käsemann, p. 421, argued the doxology was added to ch. 16.

14. J.B. Lightfoot, 'The Structure and Destination of the Epistle to the Romans', *Biblical Essays* (London: Macmillan, 1893), pp. 318-19.

15. F.J.A. Hort, 'On the End of the Epistle to the Romans', in J.B. Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, pp. 324-29 and 347-51; W. Sanday and A.C. Headlam, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1896), pp. lxxxix and 433.

16. K. Aland, 'Der Schluss und die ursprüngliche Gestalt des Römerbriefes', *Neutestamentliche Entwürfe* (Munich: Kaiser Verlag, 1979), pp. 284-301. Aland

would argue that *the doxology is the authentic ending of Romans.* H. Gamble's argument that a concluding doxology stands in clear contrast to Paul's habit of ending with a grace benediction is of little value, for no other letter adds a doxology either, and no other ends like any suggested form of Romans, including Gamble's suggestion of a double grace benediction.[17] Why is a doxology added only to Romans? Few accept the explanation that the doxology was to function for the whole Pauline corpus. Is it not possible that given the character of the letter, a doxology—not unlike the doxology at the end of the argument in 9–11—was the most appropriate conclusion?

The primary reason for seeing the doxology as authentic, however, is the way the doxology encapsulates the wording and concerns of the letter, especially the theology of revelation. Gamble and others are aware of this evidence, but conclude that the doxology was written with special attention to Romans and especially the prescript. The more the case can be made for reference to the letter in composing the doxology, the weaker is the case that it is a later addition. L. Hurtado pointed out that the doxology cannot have been written for the fourteen-chapter form (which Gamble had argued), for it reflects parts of ch. 15 (the attitude toward the prophetic writings in 15.4, 'obedience' in 15.18, and the focus on giving glory to God in 15.1-13). He argued that the doxology was composed with ch. 15 in mind.[18]

Actually, the parallels between the doxology and *various* parts of the letter are quite strong and deserve consideration:

στηρίζω	('establish' in 1.11 and 16.25, the only two occurrences in the letter and *the word Paul used to explain his purpose in coming to Rome*)

argued for 1.1–16.23 as the original form, even though no manuscripts actually attest that form.

17. Gamble, *Textual History*, pp. 130-32. See the discussion by L.W. Hurtado, 'The Doxology at the End of Romans', in E.J. Epp and G.D. Fee (eds.), *New Testament Textual Criticism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 185-99.

18. Hurtado, 'The Doxology,' pp. 197-98. Note that Fitzmyer, *Romans*, pp. 44 and 753-54, viewed the doxology as secondary but recognized that it echoes themes from the letter and forms a fitting conclusion to the letter, 'for it catches the spirit of the Pauline message of the letter'. Nevertheless, he uses the doxology to explain the meaning of the gospel (p. 110). Similarly B. Childs seems to view the doxology both as an addition and yet as encompassing the whole book and rendering Paul's final word to the church in Rome. See his *The New Testament as Canon* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), pp. 252-54.

εὐαγγέλιον	('gospel' in 1.1, 9, 16; 2.16; 10.16; 11.28; 15.16, 19; and 16.25; note especially the verbatim parallel with κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον μου in 2.16)
ἀποκάλυψις	('revelation' in 2.5; 8.19; and 16.25)
μυστήριον	('mystery' in 11.25 and 16.25)
φανερόω	('reveal' in 1.19; 3.21; and 16.25)
γραφαὶ προφητικῶν	('prophetic writings'; cf. 1.2; 3.21; 11.3 and the seven occurrences of γραφή, all of which refer to the scriptures, and the twenty-one occurrences of γράφω, nineteen of which are used of scripture)[19]
ὑπακοὴ πίστεως	('obedience of faith' in 1.5 and 16.26, in both cases connected with πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, cf. 15.18; 6.17; 10.16; and 16.19)
ἔθνος	(Nearly always plural in the sense of 'Gentiles'; of the twenty-nine occurrences, ten are in ch. 15, and four of these are about the Gentiles praising God. No other letter comes close in focusing so much attention on the Gentiles).
γνωρίζω	('make known' in 9.22, 23; and 16.26)
σοφός	('wise', cf. σοφία in 11.33)

As important as the repetition of key ideas is, one should also note the *rhetorical* role the doxology plays. With στηρίζω and ὑπακοὴ πίστεως the doxology contains two instances of *inclusio*, both of which emphasize key ideas in Paul's missionary theology and his understanding of his own apostolic task. One cannot argue from σιγᾶν ('keep secret') or from the similarity to a supposed revelation schema in Ephesians and Colossians that this theology is late. This theology is already expressed forcefully in 1 Cor. 2.6-16, where σιγᾶν is paralleled by ἀποκρύπτειν, both referring to μυστήριον.[20]

19. Lührmann's suggestion (*Das Offenbarungsverständis*, pp. 123-24) that γραφαί προφητικῶν refers to Paul's letters is absolutely unacceptable.

20. On the equivalence of σιγᾶν and ἀποκρύπτειν and the rejection of gnostic thinking behind σιγᾶν, see Cranfield, *Commentary*, II, p. 810, n. 3. J.K. Elliott, 'The Language and Style of the Concluding Doxology to the Epistle to the Romans', *ZNW* 72 (1981), pp. 124-30, argued that the language and style of the doxology pointed to non-Pauline authorship. His argument is not convincing, and his conclusion is more assumed than demonstrated. He points to three phrases in particular that suggest non-Pauline authorship: χρόνοις αἰωνίοις, γραφῶν προφητικῶν, and κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ αἰωνίου θεοῦ. That Paul uses most of these words in other ways is considered irrelevant. Given the different style one would expect in a doxology, I find it hard to insist that Paul could not use such expressions, particularly if some of them were adopted from confessional material. Furthermore, the focus on

While certainty is not achievable, the case for the authenticity of the doxology at the end of the letter is very strong. Arguments for the authenticity of the doxology remain valid, even if one were to decide it belonged elsewhere. At the very least one must conclude that if the doxology is a later addition, some scribe has understood Paul's theology in Romans—and specifically the focus on the gospel as revelation to bring about the obedience of the Gentiles—much better than New Testament scholars usually do. The doxology summarizes well the theology of revelation expressed in the letter. God works through the revelation announced in Paul's gospel to establish people. This revelation contains the mystery hidden before—that the Gentiles are included in Israel's election—which has now been revealed in Jesus Christ and is made known through the prophetic writings to lead to obedience of faith among all the Gentiles.[21] As the doxology makes clear, Paul's missional theology grows out of his understanding of revelation.

3. *Paul's Comprehensive Understanding of Revelation*

Of scholars who have dealt with Romans, two in particular have made significant contributions to understanding Paul's revelation theology, even though they treat it indirectly and nuance their views quite differently. E. Käsemann's work on the righteousness of God leads to important insights in understanding Paul. For Käsemann, the gospel 'is the epiphany of God's eschatological power pure and simple'. 'God's self-manifestation is decisive for all history', and Paul's theology is based in apocalyptic thought and has a salvation-historical perspective.[22] The revelation of the righteousness of God points to the saving activity of God in the cross.[23] J.C. Beker's approach is similar to Käsemann's in assuming a salvation-history perspective and in focusing on the

the prophetic writings should be expected in a letter that relies on the Old Testament more than any other of Paul's. One should note that γραφαὶ ἅγιαι occurs only in 1.2, and that in the Pauline letters the plural γραφαί occurs only in 1.2; 15.4; 16.25; and 1 Cor. 15.3-4.

21. The three-fold movement of the doxology—hidden, revealed now, made known through the prophetic writings—should be noticed. Note Cranfield's critique (*Commentary*, II, p. 211) of Käsemann for not giving adequate attention to τε. In 16.25 'my gospel and the preaching of Jesus Christ' is a hendiadys.

22. Käsemann, *Commentary*, pp. 22, 23, and 27-30.

23. See also his '"The Righteousness of God" in Paul', *New Testament Questions of Today* (London: SCM Press, 1969), pp. 168-82.

revelation of the righteousness of God. For Beker, however, apocalyptic is not merely part of Paul's thought, but the coherent centre of his gospel. The gospel is an apocalyptic interpretation of the Christ event with focus on the coming triumph of God. Paul's understanding of the gospel makes use of four apocalyptic motifs: vindication, universalism, dualism and imminence.[24] Surely any explanation of the gospel as a theology of revelation can say no less than Käsemann and Beker, but more needs to be said as well.

D. Lührmann rightly emphasized revelation as the *present* saving activity of God in the proclamation of the gospel. The use of the present tense ἀποκαλύπτεται ('is being revealed') in 1.17 surely is intended to make this very point. At the same time, Lührmann focused so exclusively on revelation as present activity that he will not allow revelation to be seen elsewhere. On his understanding Paul did not view the Old Testament as revelation, nor did he describe the death and resurrection as revelation, for he did not think of revelation as a past event. Nor did Paul divide time into two periods before and after Christ. However, Lührmann's approach imposes a Bultmannian existentialism on the text.[25] As the word frequencies above indicate, the actual words for 'reveal' are not frequent in Romans or in Paul generally. To conclude that Paul views as revelation only what he explicitly calls revelation is pedantic. Paul's frequent use of Old Testament texts with introductory formulas such as καθὼς γέγραπται ('just as has been written'), his use of γραφαὶ ἅγιαι ('holy scriptures') in 1.2, his reference to τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ ('the sayings of God') entrusted to the Jews in 3.1, his use of χρηματισμός ('divine answer') in 11.4 in reference to 1 Kgs 19.18, and his belief that the Hebrew scriptures were written for the instruction of Christians (4.23-24 and 15.4) all point to his belief that the Jewish scriptures were revelation from God. Similarly, 3.21-26 is an explicit contradiction of Lührmann's approach. Lührmann can maintain his argument only by a strained interpretation of νυνὶ δέ ('but now') and the perfect tense πεφανέρωται in 3.21. He argued the

24. Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, pp. 17-18, 135-36; *Paul's Apocalyptic Gospel*, pp. 14-15, 19.

25. Lührmann, *Das Offenbarungsverständnis*, pp. 16, 79, 84, 92, 107, 145, 148-55. Cf. R. Bultmann, 'The Concept of Revelation in the New Testament', *Existence and Faith* (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1960), pp. 58-91, especially pp. 76-79. Daniel Patte errs in the same direction. See his *Paul's Faith and the Power of the Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), pp. 233-36.

former does not designate a break in time before and after Christ and that the latter merely means 'once for all and unrepeatable'.[26]

On the contrary, Paul did see the events of the cross and the resurrection as revelation and as events which constitute a break in time. Whereas 1.17 with the present tense ἀποκαλύπτεται refers to the ongoing revelation in the proclamation of the gospel, 3.21 with the perfect πεφανέρωται points to the specific act of Christ which ushered in the new aeon.[27] When Paul speaks of revelation, more often than not a specific event was in mind. In fact, revelation for Paul covered past, present and future.[28] One could say that Paul understood the gospel as a present revelation based on a past revelation and expecting a future revelation. However, even this does not do justice to the extent of the treatment of revelation in Romans. At least *eight* different occurrences of revelation are mentioned or are alluded to in Romans: revelation in creation (1.19-20); in the wrath of God against human sin throughout history (1.18); in the Jewish scriptures; in the death and resurrection of Jesus; in Paul's conversion christophany; in the preaching of the gospel; in the activity of the Spirit in believers and in the church (8.16; 12.6; and 15.19); and in the revelation of judgment (2.5) and glory (8.18) at the eschaton, the ultimate triumph of God.[29] Not all are of the same value, but all play a role in Paul's thought. The framework for understanding Paul's gospel must be comprehensive enough to incorporate all these components, with the gospel itself focused on the series of revelations starting with the death and resurrection and extending to the revelation of God at the eschaton. For Paul the gospel is a theology of revelation.

In speaking of eight occurrences of revelation one ought not conclude

26. Lührmann, *Das Offenbarungsverständnis*, pp. 148-49. See also his 'φανερόω', *TDNT*, IX, p. 4.

27. On the theme of the act of Christ ushering in a new era, see Beker, *Paul's Apocalyptic Gospel*, pp. 19, 29, and 40; Lincoln, 'From Wrath', p. 212; C. Rowland, *Christian Origins* (London: SPCK, 1985), pp. 208-12; U. Wilckens, 'The Understanding of Revelation within the History of Primitive Christianity', in W. Pannenberg (ed.), *Revelation as History* (London: Macmillan, 1968), pp. 83, 87, 110-11; S. Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), pp. 73-74; and B. Childs, *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), pp. 225 and 236-42.

28. See Bockmuehl, *Revelation*, pp. 133, 137, and 227-28; cf. A. Oepke, 'ἀποκαλύπτω, ἀποκάλυψις', *TDNT*, III, pp. 582-84.

29. The biblical references here are only a partial listing and have been omitted where they are obvious or where discussion of that item follows.

that the eight can be separated. For Paul they are all acts of the one God revealing his character in various ways. In particular, one cannot separate event and proclamation. As is well known, both the words εὐαγγέλιον and κήρυγμα can refer to either the activity of proclaiming or the content of the proclamation. The events are not separate entities, but are placed in the larger framework of God's revealing activity and interpreted. Two results emerge: (1) a unity exists between event and the proclamation of the event;[30] (2) much of Romans should be seen as Paul's explanation of how earlier revelation from God relates to the revelation that comes in his gospel.

4. *Specific Texts and Issues*

Obviously justice cannot be done to specific passages expressing this theme, but several texts are so important that they demand some attention. I would place 1.1-5, 16-20; 2.1-16; 3.19-26; and 10.5-8 in this category.

One ought not be surprised that Paul emphasizes revelation so much; the surprise is that scholars have not given more attention to the subject than they have. Paul's conversion christophany and his focus on revelation in other texts such as 1 Cor. 2.6-16; 2 Cor 3–4.6;[31] and Eph. 3.2-11; Col. 1.25-27; and 3.1-4 are sufficient indication of the importance of this subject for Pauline theology. In recent years Paul's conversion—or call—christophany has been given renewed focus as the determining factor in his theology.[32] Texts such as Gal. 1.15-16; 1 Cor. 9.1; and 15.8-10 are obvious references to the revelation of Christ to him. If this christophany was such a determining factor, we should expect that revelation would be a key ingredient in Paul's explanation of the gospel. But the christophany alone is not sufficient. The second revealing act

30. See G.E. Ladd, 'Revelation and Tradition in Paul', in W.W. Gasque and R.P. Martin (eds.), *Apostolic History and the Gospel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970), p. 224.

31. Actually, Paul works with the theme of revelation, especially with φανερόω, through 2 Cor. 5.11.

32. See among others Kim, *Origin, passim*; J.D.G. Dunn, '"A Light to the Gentiles": The Significance of the Damascus Road Christophany for Paul', in L.D. Hurst and N.T. Wright (eds.), *The Glory of Christ in the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. 251-66; A.F. Segal, *Paul the Convert* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), pp. 7-114; and C.C. Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), pp. 165-212.

determinative for Paul is the revelation of God's righteousness in the death and resurrection of Jesus. As M. Bockmuehl asserted: 'Together, the redemptive revelation of God's righteousness *in Christ* and the apostolic revelation of the gospel *to Paul* make up the past dimension of revelation in his theology. These two pillars are irreplaceable, unalterable, and basic to all of Pauline Christianity'.[33]

a. *Romans 1.1-5*

Romans 1.1-5 refers to both these revelatory acts and the revelation that occurred previously in the scriptures. Although the revelation to Paul, the christophany, is not mentioned explicitly, surely that is the intention with ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ ('separated unto the gospel of God') in 1.1, as a comparison with Gal. 1.15-16 confirms.[34] Mention of the gospel brings a fourfold description that causes this prescript to be longer and more theologically laden than any other. Paul's gospel is the gospel from God (1.2), the one promised by God's prophets in the scriptures (1.2), that deals with God's son (1.3-4), and that because of the christophany is to be taken by Paul to the Gentiles (1.5). All four descriptors have to do with revelation. Both 1.1 and 1.5 refer to Paul's christophany. Through his experience of the risen Christ, Paul received grace and apostleship (a hendiadys) to bring about obedience of faith among all the Gentiles. That the christophany is implied as well in 15.15-21 suggests the importance of this revelation for understanding Romans.[35] With mention of what was promised by God's prophets, Paul connects the various revelations and anticipates both his use of scripture citations and his discussions of Abraham and the law.

The revelation in Christ is—not surprisingly—given unique prominence in 1.3-4. Even if Paul is quoting confessional material, Bornkamm's argument that here and in 1.16-17 Paul gives two different summaries of the gospel is not convincing.[36] Neither is a 'full and

33. Bockmuehl, *Revelation*, p. 137 (italics his). In a footnote he adds that this revelation is explained in terms of the preceding scripture. Revelation in creation should also be added. Cf. Rowland, *Christian Origins*, pp. 209-12, who suggested that the twin beliefs of the resurrection and the Spirit are the foundations upon which the whole of Paul's theology is built.

34. See Stuhlmacher, 'The Pauline Gospel', pp. 153-56.

35. Kim, *Origin*, pp. 3 and 22, suggested the christophany is also in mind at 10.2-4 and 12.3.

36. G. Bornkamm, *Paul* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), pp. 248-49. Bornkamm solved the disparity between the two by focusing on the title 'Son of

complete statement of the faith'. In fact, 1.3-4 is not so much a summary of the gospel as it is a statement about the focus of the gospel. While 1.16-17 describes what the gospel does, 1.3-4 describes what it concerns. The gospel is a gospel concerning the Son (cf. 1.9), and he is designated Son of God with power by the revelation that takes place in the resurrection. Two points are noteworthy. First, revelation is understood, not as information, but as an event.[37] Secondly, the resurrection *is* the revelation. This decisive revelatory event discloses God and his activity among humans and ushers in a new era,[38] and the further revelation of the resurrected Christ to Paul commissioned him to tell the Gentiles of God's work on their behalf. Not surprisingly, Romans mentions the resurrection more frequently than Paul's other letters.[39] One ought not pit cross and resurrection against each other, however, as if they were unrelated. In Paul's thinking the one assumes the other, and especially in Romans the two are joined. As P. Minear suggested, we need to speak of 'the twin event' of death and resurrection to do justice to Paul's thought.[40]

b. *Romans 1.16-20*

Treatment of the theme of the righteousness of God will be reserved for the discussion of 3.19-26. What is clear in this text is that Paul saw his proclamation of the gospel as a continuation of—or at least strongly bound to—the revelation encountered in the resurrection and in his christophany. As he preached, God continued to reveal himself as the God who saves believing Jews and Gentiles.[41]

As concerning a theology of revelation, in addition to the revelation of the righteousness of God, two issues are primary in this text: (1) the relation of 1.16-17 to 1.18-20; (2) the question about 'natural revelation'. With regard to the former, is the revelation of the wrath of God

God' and its soteriological significance. See also the discussion in Childs, *Biblical Theology*, p. 235.

37. Oepke, 'ἀποκαλύπτω', pp. 582-83; and Hultgren, *Paul's Gospel*, pp. 31 and 37.

38. Note K. Barth, *The Epistle to the Romans* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 30; and n. 27 above.

39. Note the focus on the resurrection in 4.17-25; 5.9-10; 6.4-10; 7.4; 8.10-11, 23, 34; 10.7-9; 11.15; 14.9-12; and 15.12.

40. See his *To Die and to Live* (New York: Seabury, 1977), especially pp. 53-61; and Beker, *Paul*, p. 401.

41. Note the similarity of this text to 9.17, 22-24; and Ps. 98.2.

part of the revelation of the righteousness of God?[42] Does the gospel include wrath or does it merely come in a context of wrath? Commentators disagree on this question. Some focus on the four occurrences of γάρ connecting each of the ideas in 1.16-18 and see the revelation of wrath in 1.18 as part of the revelation of the righteousness of God in 1.17 and, therefore, part of the gospel.[43] To avoid this conclusion others argue that γάρ in 1.18 should be understood as a contrast, which is unusual to say the least.[44] Those who focus on the relation of 1.18 to 1.19-32 usually see the revelation of the wrath of God as present throughout history in God's giving people over to their desires.[45] In this case 1.18 does not refer to the gospel. A solution here is not easy because Paul intended a parallel between the revelation of the righteousness of God in 1.17 and the revelation of the wrath of God or he would not have repeated ἀποκαλύπτεται in 1.18. On the other hand, 1.19-32 does explain 1.18, and the reference is not to something new since the resurrection but to the response of God to human sin at all times. No doubt, the description in 1.18–3.20 is written *from the presupposition of the gospel*, but also the content of nearly all this section is *Jewish* theology. That the righteousness of God and the wrath of God belong together for Paul is shown by both 2.5 and 3.5, which indicates that they cannot be seen as antithetical. Both the wrath of God and the saving activity of God are rooted in the character of God. Still, the parallel between 1.17 and 1.18 does not demonstrate that wrath is part of the gospel. K. Barth may be correct in saying that 'the wrath of

42. Another way to pose this question is to ask whether there is one righteousness of God or two. Käsemann, *Commentary*, p. 35, stated that 'justifying righteousness and condemning righteousness do not run parallel'. Fitzmyer, *Romans*, p. 329, argued against the view that the righteousness of God embraces both his gracious faithfulness to his promises and his punitive judgment upon sin. Does this limit righteousness too much?

43. Cranfield, *Commentary*, pp. 109-110; Lührmann, *Das Offenbarungsverständnis*, p. 146; Bockmuehl, *Revelation*, pp. 139-140. N.A. Dahl, 'The Missionary Theology', pp. 78-79, argued that the question of whether a sentence belongs with what precedes or follows is anachronistic, since the text was read aloud. This does not solve the problem, however, and Dahl's own position is not clear.

44. E.g., Fitzmyer, *Romans*, p. 277; and see J.D.G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8* (WBC 38A; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1988), p. 54.

45. Reumann, '*Righteousness*', pp. 67-68; G. Bornkamm, 'The Revelation of God's Wrath: Romans 1–3', *Early Christian Experience* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), pp. 47-49 and especially p. 62; Beker, *Paul*, p. 353.

God is the righteousness of God—apart from and without Christ'.[46] Or the purpose of 1.18–3.20 may be merely to emphasize the reason the revelation of God's righteousness was necessary.

The question whether Paul makes use of a natural revelation theology in 1.19-20 is also heavily debated, but here I think the problem lies more in modern discussions than it does with the text. Natural revelation is dismissed as a self-contradiction, for revelation can only be spoken of as supernatural.[47] A natural revelation that enables salvation suggests too much of salvation by works to be given serious consideration, especially in Protestant circles. That is not Paul's problem, however, and these verses do speak of a revelation that occurs in creation, a revelation that *God* produces. As a result of seeing what God has created, humans should know God's eternal power and deity. Consequently, they should glorify God and give thanks, and by implication they should also know of God's claim on their lives.[48] One cannot argue that φανερόω ('reveal' or 'make visible') means less than ἀποκαλύπτω ('reveal') since the two words stand parallel in 1.17 and 3.21.[49] This text does not

46. Barth, *The Epistle to the Romans*, p. 43.

47. See Bultmann, 'The Concept of Revelation', p. 67, in description of rationalism.

48. Cranfield, *Commentary*, pp. 113-14; Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, pp. 56-58; and see the excursus on 'natural theology' in D. Moo, *Romans 1–8* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1991), pp. 121-24.

49. M.N.A. Bockmuehl, 'Das Verb φανερόω im Neuen Testament', *BZ* 32 (1988), pp. 87-99, followed by Fitzmyer, *Romans*, pp. 273-74, and 344, argued against most others that ἀποκαλύπτω and φανερόω are not synonyms. His argument is based on the differences between 1.17 and 3.21. The differences in the two texts have to do with their different concerns—the one referring to the gospel, the other to the death and resurrection. This does not demonstrate a difference in the two words themselves. The use of ἀποκάλυψις and φανερόω in parallel in 16.25-26 suggests they are synonyms. The words are too close to drive a wedge between them. More important is that before the New Testament both word groups were used *infrequently*, especially as religious terms. Suddenly with the New Testament both word groups (especially those built on the φαν-root) become frequent and theologically important. That can only be a result of the emphasis placed on revelation in the life, death and resurrection of Jesus. On the terms see also Oepke, 'ἀποκαλύπτω', pp. 563-92; Lührmann, 'φανερόω', pp. 3-6; *Das Offenbarungsverständnis, passim*; and M. Smith, 'On the History of ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΠΤΩ and ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ', in D. Hellholm (ed.), *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (Tübingen: Mohr–Siebeck, 1983), pp. 9-20.

allow us to say much more about revelation through creation, but certainly we should not say less.

c. *Romans 2.1-16*

The whole of ch. 2 is notoriously difficult. On the surface, the relevance of this passage for a discussion of revelation consists in three items: (1) the revelation of wrath and God's righteous judgment at the end of time (2.5); (2) the significance of the possession of the law; and (3) the *work* of the law written on the heart of those without law.[50] The last says more about creation than revelation, but it is relevant. As important as these items are, the real importance of this text for discussing revelation is the broader theological discussion necessary in trying to relate the content of ch. 2 to what Paul says in 3.9-26. H. Boers appropriately stated: 'The ultimate challenge for an understanding of Paul is to find a center which makes it possible to understand how he could say, on the one hand, "Not the hearers of the Law are righteous before God, but the doers of the Law will be justified" (Rom. 2.13), and, on the other, "Through works of the Law no one will be justified before him" (Rom. 3.20)'.[51] I would suggest that revelation may be the category—or at least a necessary category—that provides the coherent centre to understand Paul. If so, the relation of new revelation to old revelation is a topic that deserves careful analysis.

The numerous attempts by commentators to sidestep ch. 2 as merely hypothetical or as referring to Gentile Christians are unacceptable. The content of 1.18–2.29 is primarily Jewish theology,[52] a Jewish theology that Paul accepts as the foundation from which he works. Had he not

50. It is the *work* written on the heart, not the law written on the heart.

51. 'The Foundations of Paul's Thought: A Methodological Investigation—The Problem of the Coherent Center of Paul's Thought', *ST* 42 (1988), p. 61.

52. See among others Lincoln, 'From Wrath', pp. 199-205. On the same point and for a more complete discussion of Romans 2, see my 'Justification by Grace', pp. 77-79 and 72-93. In the end Lincoln, too, attempts to sidestep the positive statements in 2.7, 10, 13, 15, and 26-27 by arguing that Paul will subvert these statements (p. 201) and that he was only talking about the principle of judgment—in effect, that he was only speaking hypothetically. Lincoln was right, however, to point out that my comments on 3.9-18 did not do justice to the strength of Paul's argument about the sinfulness of humanity. I would still contend, however, that the real focus of 1.18–2.29 is the righteousness of God and his present and future judgment of humanity. Human sin is the context for the discussion of the righteousness of God.

believed this summary theology of sin and judgment, he would have been rejected outright by Jews in both Rome and Jerusalem. What follows in 3.1-8 *implies* the new revelation in Christ has occurred, but Israel failed to respond to it. Then 3.9-20 sums up the argument that all are under sin and indicted before God. Paul based his argument in previous revelation by quoting a collection of texts on sin and by reference to Ps. 143.2. Finally, 3.21-26 focuses explicitly on the new revelation that has come in Christ to show God's righteousness both with regard to past and present activity in forgiving sins.

Judgment according to works is an assumption of Paul's theology. Without judgment, salvation is not necessary. We ought not think, however, that positive statements about salvation for those who are obedient implies a works righteousness, a salvation achieved by human means.[53] No biblical theology of judgment according to works assumed a positive judgment was based merely on human merit. A. Lincoln correctly noted in discussing Abraham in Romans 4 that right relation to God involves a radical intervention of God to rescue humanity from its situation of death and bring it into the realm of life.[54] Has that not always been the case whether before or after the cross, and do not the statements in ch. 2 have the same assumption? Ps. 143.2, to which Paul refers in 3.20, seems to assume this very point. In the context of 1.18-23, the description of those who are obedient and obtain life (2.7, 10, 13, 15, and 26-27) assumes the obedience is a result of the activity of God in their lives.[55] These people sought the very items mentioned in the

53. One ought not forget that ἔργα ('works') in the plural is negative for Paul, whereas the singular ἔργον is positive. See my 'Justification by Grace', p. 84; and Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, p. 100.

54. Lincoln, 'From Wrath', p. 221. The description in Rom. 4.5 that God is a God who acquits the ungodly is in Paul's mind valid for all time, not just the time after the cross, despite texts such as Exod. 23.7 (which have a wholly different function). In Romans 4 Abraham and David are included among the ungodly.

55. Note especially 2.29. T. Schreiner, 'Did Paul Believe in Justification by Works? Another Look at Romans 2', *Bulletin of Biblical Research* 3 (1993), pp. 131-58, argued that Paul believed works were necessary for justification, but that 2.7, 10, and 26-29 referred to Gentile Christians who would be saved, while 2.14-15 referred to non-believing Gentiles who would not. Neither the change of subject is convincing nor that Gentile Christians are in view. See also his *The Law and its Fulfillment* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1993), pp. 179-204. In addition, he is wrong in stating that I believe Romans 2 refers to pre-Christian Gentiles; the text refers to humanity.

discussion of 1.18-23. The relation of ch. 2, the concern for the obedience of faith, and the discussion concerning Abraham in ch. 4 all must be held together. If ch. 2 like ch. 4 assumes God's intervention, then the passage makes sense as obedience in response to God. One cannot understand Pauline soteriology apart from the larger framework of the biblical soteriology of both testaments. If ch. 2 does *not* assume the intervention of God, then Paul has got himself into the frightful jam that most scholars think he has. Although the emphases of chs. 2 and 4 are different, the issue in both is the response of sinful humanity to God. The main point of Paul's argument is that now, into this judgment according to works based on the light received, the decisive and transforming light has been given. This transforming light reveals a God who is in the right, places people in right relation to himself, and produces righteousness in their lives. Obedience continues to be as important a topic as it has ever been, as 3.8, 31; chs. 6 and 8 and much of the rest of Romans show.[56] Revelation from God always is intended to produce righteousness in the lives of humans, and that is especially the case with the revelation in Christ.[57]

We will return to the topic of the relation of old and new revelation, but this relation is a crucial issue in chs. 2–3 and the key to comprehending Paul's argument.

d. *Romans 3.19-26*

This is the primary statement on revelation in Romans, and every verse in this section has to do with revelation. This section is not made up of questions and responses as much of Romans is, but like ch. 5 and much of ch. 8 this section is declaratory or kerygmatic.[58]

Richard Hays has correctly pointed out that the quotation of Ps. 143.2 in 3.20 is not only the means by which Paul verifies his conclusion about the sinfulness of humanity, but is also important for understanding what follows in 3.21-26. Also to his credit is his recognition that 3.21-26 is a

56. Shockingly, Fitzmyer, *Romans*, p. 237, suggested that 'obedience' often has a pejorative connotation and should be rendered as 'commitment'. See on this subject D.B. Garlington, 'The Obedience of Faith' (WUNT 2 Reihe 38; Tübingen: Mohr–Siebeck, 1991); and G.N. Davies, *Faith and Obedience in Romans* (JSNTSup 39; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990).

57. That revelation in Christ is to produce righteousness helps make sense of how 2.13 fits with Paul's other statements.

58. See W.S. Campbell, *Paul's Gospel*, pp. 26 and 30.

continuation of a discussion concerning the righteousness of God in 3.1-8.[59] The importance of this psalm for Paul ought not be underestimated since it is also quoted in Gal. 2.16. The psalmist knew that no one is righteous before God and, therefore, called for God to intervene because of his faithfulness and righteousness.[60] The psalm provides confirmation that δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ should be understood as a subjective genitive, that is, as pointing to God's saving activity. This expression needs to be seen as a comprehensive term, however, one that is focused on relationships and that is very close to the idea of mercy. What is revealed is not merely that God saves, but his character as a faithful and saving God, one who keeps covenant with his people and is true to his own being.[61] This seems demanded both by the context and by the use of Psalm 143.

As indicated above, part of the purpose of Romans is the vindication of God in view of the charge that God has not been faithful or has been unfair in his dealings (3.1-8), issues that are not treated fully until chs. 9–11.[62] The problem is at least partly the problem of theodicy, and the solution is found in the revelation of God's character as a righteous, saving God who is faithful.[63] This revelation, already pointed to by the law and the prophets, takes place in the faithfulness of Christ (3.22).[64]

59. 'Psalm 143 and the Logic of Romans 3', *JBL* 99 (1980), pp. 107-15. Even though a transition occurs in v. 21, the usual division between vv. 20 and 21 loses too much.

60. The psalm is filled with other ideas important to Paul: judgment; trust (בטח); faithful love (חסד); and meditation on the work of God's hands, which could be behind 1.19-20. See vv. 1-2, 5, 8, and 11-12.

61. See Lincoln, 'From Wrath', p. 212. See also the important articles by S.K. Williams, 'The "Righteousness of God" in Romans', *JBL* 99 (1980), pp. 241-290; and J. Piper, 'The Demonstration of the Righteousness of God in Romans 3.25, 26', *JSNT* 7 (1980), pp. 2-32. Cf. L.E. Keck's use of the phrase 'the moral integrity of God' to translate δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ in *Paul and his Letters* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), pp. 117-30, and Fitzmyer's use of 'the uprightness of God' for the same Greek expression throughout his commentary. See for example, *Romans*, pp. 105-107. Fitzmyer rightly pointed out that the issue is God's saving power exercised in a *just judgment.*

62. As is often pointed out, in 3.3-7 τὴν πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ, θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην, and ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ θεοῦ ('the faithfulness of God', 'the righteousness of God' and 'the truth of God' respectively) are virtually synonymous.

63. Bockmuehl, *Revelation*, pp. 140 and 225-29; see R.B Hays, 'ΠΙΣΤΙΣ and Pauline Christology: What is at Stake?' in E.H. Lovering, Jr (ed.), *SBLSP* 1991 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), p. 721.

64. R. Longenecker, *Paul, Apostle of Liberty* (New York: Harper & Row,

God has publicly displayed Christ as the place where sin is forgiven to show his righteousness for forgiving past sin and to show that in the present he is a righteous and acquitting God.[65] If 1.4 focused on the resurrection as revelation of Christ's status as Son of God with power, here the revelation is a revelation *of God* which takes place in the cross of Christ.

Did God need to show that he was righteous? W.G. Kümmel objected to the idea that God needed to prove his righteousness, but Kümmel's concern was motivated by the desire to combat ideas about the atonement deriving from Anselm.[66] Similarly, L. Keck sought to downplay the idea of theodicy in Paul, but his comments are a reaction against J.C. Beker's view that Paul's gospel is apocalyptic. Whereas theodicy is central in apocalyptic, Keck argued it was not the issue with which Paul began, but where he ended in Romans 9–11.[67] Although Keck does finally admit Paul's gospel is apocalyptic, he is correct to emphasize the differences between Jewish apocalyptic and Paul. However, the problem of theodicy is also viewed differently by Paul and ought not be diminished. Keck's argument does not do justice to the similarity of 3.1-8 and chs. 9–11 or the connection of 3.1-8 to 3.21-26. As the quotation in 3.4 of Ps. 51.4 shows, the issue is the acquittal of God.[68] K. Barth was right to say God 'justifies Himself to Himself'.[69] The problems of human sin and especially of God's faithfulness provide a context where God's righteousness, his saving activity fulfilling his covenant promises, needs to be displayed. The cross reveals that faithfulness.

1964), pp. 148-52, convinced me early on that πίστις χριστοῦ should be understood as 'the faithfulness of Christ'. See the discussions of this expression in Hays, 'ΠΙΣΤΙΣ', pp. 714-29; and J.D.G. Dunn, 'Once More, ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ', in Lovering, *SBLSP* 1991, pp. 730-44. The occurrence of באמונתך ('in your faithfulness') in parallel with בצדקתך ('in your righteousness') in Ps. 143.1 is strong evidence in favour of 'the faithfulness of Christ' in 3.22.

65. I am less convinced that πίστις in 3.25 and 26 is to be understood as Christ's faithfulness as argued by D.A. Campbell, *The Rhetoric of Righteousness*, pp. 186-87.

66. 'Πάρεσις and ἔνδειξις: A Contribution to the Understanding of the Pauline Doctrine of Justification', *JTC* 3 (1967), pp. 1-2 and 13.

67. L.E. Keck, 'Paul and Apocalyptic Theology', *Int* 38 (1984), pp. 229-41.

68. See Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, pp. 133-34; and P. Stuhlmacher, 'The Apostle Paul's View of Righteousness', *Reconciliation, Law, and Righteousness* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), pp. 78-79.

69. Barth, *Romans*, p. 93. Note also his comment that 'the righteousness of God is that "nevertheless" by which He associates us with Himself and declares Himself to be our God'.

Consideration of the sacrificial language in 3.25 enhances the understanding of revelation. P. Stuhlmacher is correct to argue that ἱλαστήριον ('atoning sacrifice') points to the כפרת, the mercy seat or lid of the ark in the Holy of Holies. Exodus 25.17-22 describes this as the place for meeting with God and hearing from him. Leviticus 16 specifies the elaborate ritual for the Day of Atonement which the priest can follow to avoid death in God's presence and to achieve atonement for the people. The act of the priest was hidden from view in the inner sanctum. In contrast 3.25 points to God's public display of Christ as the place for atonement and for meeting with God.[70] L. Keck asked the question, 'When is God's Godhood most characteristically and significantly manifest?' and answered, 'God is never more authentically and characteristically God than in rectifying the ungodly'.[71] That is precisely why 3.25-26 is so focused on revelation. God's act in giving Christ reveals who God really is, the God in the right who brings people into right relation. Emphasis should be placed on the fact that God is the one who acts in this text, and if one is to speak of propitiation it will have to be in terms of the self-propitiating God. That God acts in righteousness to deal with his own anger is a common Old Testament theme.[72]

e. *Romans 10.5-8*

In my mind this text and its parallel in Gal. 3.10-13 constitute one of the most difficult problems in all of Paul's letters, one for which I have yet to see a satisfying explanation.[73] The way that Lev. 18.5 is contrasted

70. 'Recent Exegesis on Romans 3.24-26', *Reconciliation, Law, and Righteousness*, pp. 94-105. See also Hultgren, *Paul's Gospel*, pp. 47-81, but I do not find his suggestion of a chiasmus in 3.23-26a very helpful, and I doubt that this section was part of a synagogue homily given on the Day of Atonement by Paul.

71. Keck, *Paul and his Letters*, pp. 111 and 114.

72. See especially Exod. 32.12-14; Pss. 78.38; 85.2-3; and Dan. 9.16. The last reference is important because it is a prayer that God will in his righteousness let his anger be turned away. See the discussion in Cranfield, *Commentary*, I, pp. 215-17. Lincoln, 'From Wrath', p. 202, stated that apart from the gospel, when God's righteousness meets human unrighteousness, his righteous judgment is revealed not in salvation but in wrath. But before the coming of the gospel God met human unrighteousness with mercy as well. Rom. 3.25 surely points to precisely this acquitting of the ungodly as also grounded in the future death of Christ.

73. For recent treatments see J.S. Vos, 'Die Hermeneutische Antinomie bei Paulus (Galater 3.11-12; Römer 10.5-10)', *NTS* 38 (1992), pp. 254-70; and J.D.G. Dunn, '"Righteousness from the Law" and "Righteousness from Faith": Paul's Interpretation of Scripture in Rom 10.1-10', in G.F. Hawthorne with

with Deut. 30.12-14 (or Hab. 2.4 in Gal. 3.11-12) is not easily understood. The contrast may have been necessitated because Paul's Jewish opponents were using Lev. 18.5, but the importance of this text for a discussion of the gospel as revelation does not depend on an explanation of the contrast. Deuteronomy, of course, spoke of the accessibility of the revelation available in the law, and Judaism understood this passage similarly. The surprising fact is that Paul applied this language about the accessibility of the law to the accessibility of Christ. The 'word' which Deuteronomy says is near you and in your mouth and in your heart is the 'word of faith' which Paul proclaimed. The Old Testament text is actualized in Paul's own context and with reference to *his* preaching. With most of the scripture citations in the rest of chs. 10–11 a similar actualizing of the text takes place. What God had said before about and to Israel is true in a heightened sense in the revelation in the gospel for the Gentiles. The appropriation of such language to describe his own preaching is indication of the exalted view Paul had that what he proclaimed in his gospel was the revelation from God for both Jews and Gentiles.

5. *The Content of the Revelation*

What actually did 'the revelatory event' reveal? Quite a list of different responses could be given to this question based on various Pauline statements. Clearly the focus of the revelation is Jesus Christ's death and resurrection, as passages such as 1.4 and 3.25 emphasize. The focus of 1.4 is somewhat different in that the status of Jesus as Son of God with power is what is actually revealed, and the christophany to Paul of this Son of God constitutes a commission to bring about the obedience of faith among the Gentiles. The revelation in 8.18 is also different in that the content of the revelation is the future glory of God, but significantly the focus is not just on the glory of God, but on the glory of God *as it affects believers* (εἰς ὑμᾶς). Elsewhere the focus is not so much christological or end-time eschatological as it is soteriological or theological.

Still, a closer reading of the text provides much more insight into the content of the revelation. The real content of the revelation is *theological*; *God* is the content of the revelation. But this revelation is, as Käsemann pointed out, 'Not a concept of God but the saving act

O. Betz (eds.), *Tradition and Interpretation in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), pp. 216-28.

centred in the death of Jesus [which] characterizes the God for us'.[74] The primary content of the revelation—as the climactic statement in 8.31-39 shows—is that *God is for us*.[75] In giving Christ, God has given all that is required to place us in right relation to himself, and nothing can separate us from God's love. That conclusion is verified by other texts explaining Paul's theology of revelation.

Already in 3.24 in the explanation of what is included in the revelation of God's righteousness, grace is the motivating factor in God's justifying activity. In a text unmentioned so far, but among the most important revelation texts, 5.5-8 focuses on the love of God. Conversion is explained as the love of God poured out in our hearts by the Holy Spirit. The commentary in 5.8 emphasizes that the love of God is demonstrated—revealed—at the very time it ought not be, 'when we were enemies', which is reminiscent of 'the one who justifies the ungodly' in 4.5, which is itself a summary statement of the gospel. Similarly, 8.9-17 focuses on the work of the Spirit of adoption who effects relation with God and Christ and witnesses that believers are children of God. Further evidence that the revelation deals with 'God for us' and the relationship that results is provided by the series of liturgical comments in chs. 5–8 focused on what believers have in Jesus Christ: peace with God in 5.1; reconciliation in 5.11; grace through righteousness for eternal life in 5.21; being alive to God in 6.11; eternal life as the gift of God in 6.23; deliverance from this body of death in 7.24-25; and the love of God in 8.39. When the subject turns to end-time eschatology, 8.19 affirms that what creation awaits is the revelation of the children of God. Commentary is provided in 8.21-23 on this end-time revelation of God's children. Creation will be freed into the glorious freedom of God's children, who themselves groan while awaiting God's end-time adoption, the redemption of the body. A. Oepke was correct. Revelation is the self-offering of the Father of Jesus Christ for fellowship.[76] That is what Paul thought happened when he preached the gospel of the revelation in the cross and resurrection. The God who had proved he is for us in the gift of Christ offered himself for fellowship to all of us, both Jews and Gentiles.

74. Käsemann, *Commentary*, p. 247.
75. See also Cranfield, *Commentary*, I, p. 435; and Dunn, *Romans*, I, p. 500.
76. Oepke, 'ἀποκαλύπτω', p. 591.

6. *The Relation of Revelation in Christ to Previous Revelation*

All religion is concerned in some way with the manifestation of deity.[77] The Hebrew and Greek scriptures unfold a series of revelations from and manifestations of God. All are important, but not all are normative for subsequent faith.[78] The new revelation in the gospel raises the question of the relation of this revelation to previous revelations. Given that the psalmist knew God was for us,[79] that Paul viewed the Hebrew scriptures as for 'our' instruction, and his discussions of Abraham and of the law, the question of the relation of former and new revelation becomes a central concern. The same question arises with works such as the *Manual of Discipline*, *Jubilees*, or the *Temple Scroll*, and always—even where the new revelation seems to veer in a new direction—a continuity with previous revelation is assumed.[80]

Two discussions take place regarding the question of the relation of the revelations. First, the revelation in Christ is seen as building on and completing the former revelation. The Hebrew scriptures witness to and promise a later decisive revelation (1.2). Consequently, those scriptures are incomplete. As important as they are to Christians for understanding faith and life, they are not the final or even the decisive revelation of God. Care in the use of language here is important. For Paul, the ultimate revelation of God will not occur until the eschaton (8.18), but the decisive revelation has occurred in the death and resurrection of Christ. But that decisive revelation must be seen in the context of a proper understanding of previous revelation, and that is one reason Paul refers to the Old Testament so frequently in Romans.

The second discussion of the relation of revelations is really a discussion of competing interpretations of revelation. Obviously Jewish Christians felt Paul set aside the previous revelation in the law, whereas he felt he established the law (3.31). On the other hand, he felt they distorted revelation in Christ because of their continuing focus on law

77. Oepke, 'ἀποκαλύπτω', p. 564.

78. E.g., the revelations of God in the Exodus or at Sinai are viewed as normative for faith, whereas the revelation to Isaiah of God in the temple (Isa. 6) is not.

79. Ps. 56.9; see also Ezek. 36.9.

80. On this issue see C. Rowland, 'Apocalyptic Literature', in D.A. Carson and H.G.M. Williamson (eds.), *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 180-82.

and its works as if law were the ultimate revelation.[81] Much of his discussion in Romans is about how previous revelation, especially law, functions now that the decisive revelation has come in Christ.

A crucial issue must be mentioned, although it cannot be treated in detail. Did Paul view law as a previous, valid way to salvation, which has been set aside by faith in Christ, or did he view salvation as always by faith in a God who acquits the ungodly?[82] The former seems supported by passages such as 2.13; 7.10; and 10.5-8, whereas the latter by texts such as 1.17; 4.1-25; and 9.30-33. The discussion of Abraham is especially important. Did Paul think Abraham was a paradigm for saving faith in all times, or did he think Abraham was a unique example and only a paradigm after the cross?[83] The latter seems *impossible* to me, for it makes a shamble of the logic in Romans, ignores the example of David in 4.7-9 and distorts Paul's understanding of the Old Testament. But if Paul thought salvation was always by faith, then ch. 4 helps in understanding 2.13, 7.10 views law as God's direction for life (not his means for salvation), and 10.5-8 is a result of polemical debate with opponents who relied heavily on Lev. 18.5. Despite the loose language of scholars, law was never a valid means of salvation—not even hypothetically. The discussion of these topics is complex, but approaching them from the perspective of Paul's theology of revelation provides significant help.[84]

81. Note the discussion of later rabbinic ideas about the eternal validity of the law, to the exclusion of other revelation. See the discussion in Wilckens, 'The Understanding of Revelation', pp. 60-64; and Oepke, 'ἀποκαλύπτω', pp. 577-78.

82. For discussion of Paul and the law, see my 'Spheres of Influence: A Possible Solution to the Problem of Paul and the Law', *JSNT* 32 (1988), pp. 93-113.

83. Note that E.P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), p. 207, stated that in Paul's argument the covenant 'skips' from Abraham to Christ. Lührmann, *Das Offenbarungsverständnis*, p. 83, argued that the Old Testament and Abraham are torn from the Jews and seen from the new salvation event. For H. Räisänen, 'Galatians 2.16 and Paul's Break with Judaism', *NTS* 31 (1985), p. 552 n. 41, Abraham was a special case for Paul and not evidence that faith was always the condition for salvation.

84. Longenecker, *Paul, Apostle of Liberty*, pp. 121-27 and 145-49, pointed to the hypothetical ability of the law to save. In this case he followed C.A.A. Scott, *Christianity According to St Paul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927), pp. 42-44. Theologians emphasizing a 'covenant' approach reject such a possibility. See e.g., T.E. McComiskey, *The Covenants of Promise* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1985). See the discussions of this problem in S. Westerholm, *Israel's Law and the Church's Faith* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), pp. 70-101;

7. *Final Observations*

Revelation does not merely bring the gospel; the gospel *is* revelation. This is true in two respects. With regard to *content*, the gospel is the description of a series of events in which God is revealed as God for us. The death and the resurrection of Jesus are the real disclosure of this God, and other revelations flow from this one: Paul's christophany; proclamation; the work of the Spirit; and the ultimate revelation at the end of time. With regard to *proclamation*, the preaching of the gospel presents God at work for us effecting salvation. The God revealing event of the death and resurrection is not abstract, but dynamic. As the revelation is narrated, God acts to show his love and saving fidelity. That is why the gospel is described as power.

The conclusion that revelation is the category for understanding the gospel in Romans has consequences. Justification is not the category under which revelation is subsumed,[85] but rather justification is subsumed under and comprehended from the category of revelation. Now the debate whether justification is to be understood as 'declarative' or 'effective' (a making righteous) is nuanced differently, for focus on the revelation of God means that God is met in the gospel, not merely that God says something. One is not merely declared righteous; rather one is transformed by encounter with the powerful God who places people in right relation to himself.

Finally, the themes of revelation and mission belong together for Paul. Like Old Testament luminaries before him (Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah), he understood that revelation brings with it a commission. When God reveals or is revealed, the recipient is enlisted in the purposes of God. The special revelation to Paul gave him a unique responsibility for the Gentiles. With this letter Paul hoped the Romans would also see the revelation in his gospel and realize their responsibility in his task for the Gentiles. Their responsibility would be different, but knowledge of the revelation ought to enlist them in the task. Knowledge of the revelation still enlists in the task.

D. Fuller, *Gospel and Law: Contrast or Continuum*? (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980); W. Vangemeren, G.L. Bahnsen, W.C. Kaiser, Jr, W.G. Strickland, and D.J. Moo, *The Law, the Gospel, and the Modern Christian: Five Views* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1993).

85. *Contra* Lührmann, *Das Offenbarungsverständnis*, p. 141.

DETERMINING THE GOSPEL THROUGH RHETORICAL ANALYSIS IN PAUL'S LETTER TO THE ROMAN CHRISTIANS

Douglas A. Campbell

It is a privilege to be able to acknowledge my debt to my *Doctorvater*, Richard Longenecker, in the present forum, and particularly in relation to Paul's letter to the Romans. It was his lectures on Romans that first stimulated my academic interest, as for so many others, in Paul and the gospel. Not only that, but in those lectures I, like a generation of other students, was also inspired by a model of Christian scholarship—indeed, by a touch of 'grace and truth'—for which I shall long be thankful.

Much of my motivation in what follows stems from a suspicion that Romans tends to be misappropriated by scholars, and particularly when Paul's gospel, or deepest theological convictions, are spoken of. This misappropriation stems, I also suspect, from the failure of many scholars to grasp with sufficient clarity the concrete circumstances which gave rise to Romans. Because of this oversight, much that is in my view quite contingent in Romans[1] has been mistakenly identified with Paul's deepest convictions, while those convictions[2] have themselves been rather obscured. Of course, this is not a happy situation, for either the scholar or the pastor.

In view of this, I want to suggest here that rhetoric, in the broad sense of argumentative discourse, along with its implicit opponents, is the critical insight into the contingent dimension of Romans. This specific methodological approach should allow us, after we have reconstructed the letter's circumstantial dimension in its light, to recover Paul's underlying, coherent convictions, that is, to determine what his gospel really was, insofar as his letter to the Romans reveals it.

1. In my view, material from chs. 1–4 and 9–11.

2. His convictions (in my view) appear most clearly in chs. 5–8, especially in 6.1-11 and 7.1–8.17.

1. *Contingency and Coherence in Romans*

Recently J. Christiaan Beker has done the world of Pauline scholarship a great service by clearly identifying what is probably the fundamental methodological problem in the study of Paul.[3] Beker has articulated the difference between the occasional, circumstantial nature of Paul's letters—their contingent dimension—and the sense in which they also give us insights into his deeper theological convictions—their coherent dimension. One can only accurately recover Paul's coherent gospel, Beker argues, by passing through each letter's contingency, reconstructing the way in which Paul has hermeneutically contextualized his basic convictions to meet a given situation. Paul's letter to the Romans, however, as Beker himself is well aware, poses peculiarly deceptive problems in this regard.

When one views Romans as a whole it is immediately apparent that it is not at all a normal letter, by Paul's own standards. Werner Georg Kümmel has given this impression its classic statement: he speaks of Romans' 'double character'.[4] On the one hand, the letter opening and closing seem clearly addressed to the Gentile Christians at Rome, and with reasonably concrete purposes in mind (such as Paul's forthcoming visit, an intervening—and somewhat dangerous—delivery of money to the Christians in Jerusalem, and plans for a Spanish mission). On the other hand, the letter body engages at length, on a rather abstract level, with Jewish questions (such as the nature of circumcision and of law-observance, the significance of Abraham and so on). Only in ch. 14 do specific problems at Rome (arguably) come into view.[5] This extended,

3. J.C. Beker, *Paul, the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), pp. 11-108, especially 11-15; cf. also his 'Paul the Theologian: Major Motifs in Pauline Theology', *Int* 43 (1989), pp. 352-65.

4. W.G. Kümmel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 17th edn, 1973), pp. 270-71.

5. Paul's generalized treatment of these has led to even this claim being disputed by some scholars, although I think unsuccessfully: cf. the 'Donfried–Karris debate' over just this point: R.J. Karris, 'Romans 14.1–15.13 and the Occasion of Romans', K.P. Donfried, 'False Presuppositions in the Study of Romans,' and Karris, 'The Occasion of Romans: A Response to Professor Donfried', in K.P. Donfried (ed.), *The Romans Debate* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, rev. & exp. edn, 1991), pp. 65-84, 102-27. See also the (to my mind fairly conclusive) comments of F. Watson, 'The Two Roman Congregations: Romans 14.1–15.13', in Donfried (ed.), *The Romans Debate*, pp. 203-15.

generalized treatment of Jewish issues is really without parallel in Paul's other letters.[6] The fundamental problem of Romans' contingency is how to fit these two broad components of the letter together within a single plausible explanation of why Paul wrote as he did. Initially it seems incomprehensible that Paul, the apostle to the Gentiles, should compose and dictate fifteen chapters of very carefully constructed prose discoursing on *Jewish* questions, and send these to the *Gentile* Christians *at Rome*. But Romans presents a particularly deceptive case for Beker's method, not merely a difficult one.

The abstract nature of the discussion in the letter body seems to tempt interpreters to conclude that they don't have to go through all the trouble of contextualizing this letter within a particular situation (which means entering into a complex and unresolved debate): this generalized theological discourse (or a section of it) can simply be lifted directly out of the text and declared to be 'Paul's gospel'—after all, that is how it seems to read.[7] Hence, the generalized nature of Paul's argument in the body of Romans makes an interpretative short-cut (or even hijack) straight to a restatement of Paul's deepest theological convictions in its terms alluringly easy (just as it makes any explanation of Paul's specific reasons for writing Romans difficult).[8]

In terms of Beker's criteria, however, this is illegitimate, and even dangerous, because such an interpreter has no criteria for distinguishing coherent from contingent expressions.[9] In their absence, all we are left with to make such decisions are our own theological convictions.[10] As a direct consequence of this methodological shortfall, scholars have (I would argue) made mistakes here, and the interpretation of Romans has tended to be dominated by the wrong textual centre(s), leading to quite distorted representations of Paul's gospel.

Clearly the way forward must be to attempt to explain how Romans'

6. Although some have much smaller comparable sections, notably Gal. 2.15–4.7/9, 2 Cor. 3.7-18, and Phil. 3.2-11—but even these discussions seem directed at more specific situations.

7. Such a move can then be powerfully buttressed by claims that this is what the Reformation, not to mention Methodism and dialectical theology were all about.

8. And probably these two factors reinforce one another.

9. Perhaps we see this basic problem manifesting itself in the endless debates over whether the true centre of Romans is chs. 1–4, 5–8, or 9–11 (or, as my former supervisor would have it, all three!).

10. These cannot, and should not, be excluded from interpretation, but they should not be the only hermeneutical criteria in play.

peculiar 'double character' originated within a single set of circumstances. If this can be done, then Paul's abstract discussion of Jewish questions in the letter body (which has afforded so much grist for theological mills) can be rooted in, and then sifted in terms of, a specific situation. Through this process we should gain a much clearer understanding of what basic points Paul was trying to make in Rome, and how a particular set of convictions about God and Christ, which are by no means merely identical with the foregoing, seem to emerge as especially fundamental for him. Rhetoric (suitably defined) has a critical role to play here.

2. *Rhetorical Approaches and Romans*

It is possible to identify several different, although overlapping, approaches to biblical analysis that at present call themselves rhetorical:[11]

1. analysis of the text in terms of the categories of Graeco-Roman speeches, as in the work of Hans Dieter Betz;[12]
2. analogous but more flexible rhetorical investigations such as George Kennedy's;[13]
3. investigation of the text in terms of chiastic structures, as advocated particularly by Nils Lund,[14] and suggested specifically for Paul (in the context of Galatians) by James Bligh;[15]

11. For a more detailed discussion see D.A. Campbell, *The Rhetoric of Righteousness in Romans 3.21-26* (JSNTSup 65; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), pp. 70-77; also the contributions of W. Wuellner, 'Paul's Rhetoric of Argumentation in Romans: An Alternative to the Donfried–Karris Debate over Romans', in Donfried (ed.), *The Romans Debate*, pp. 128-46, and R. Jewett, 'Following the Argument of Romans', in Donfried (ed.), *The Romans Debate*, pp. 265-77; see also the very useful survey article by Wuellner, 'Where is Rhetorical Criticism Taking Us?', *CBQ* 49 (1987), pp. 448-63.

12. Especially *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979); and *Second Corinthians 8 and 9: A Commentary on Two Administrative Letters of the Apostle Paul* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985).

13. *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1984).

14. *Chiasmus in the New Testament: A Study in Formgeschichte* (Durham, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1942).

15. J. Bligh, *Galatians in Greek: A Structural Analysis of St Paul's Epistle to the*

4. analysis of Hebrew texts in terms of chiastic and other poetic devices, as suggested by James Muilenberg;[16]
5. analyses sensitive to modern hermeneutical perspectives that see most, if not all, texts as in some sense rhetorical: when the argumentative dimension of the text is emphasized, such studies look particularly to the work of Chaim Perelman,[17] but
6. in the context of an entire post-modern hermeneutical enterprise, and incorporating insights from Formalism, Structuralism, Deconstruction, and so on.[18]

Any one of these approaches is, at least in some sense, rhetorical.

For our purposes, however, we can overlook position (6), the post-modern hermeneutical programme, and the chiastic emphases of positions (3) and (4), though very important for Romans, are only relevant to a study of the entire letter body. Position (1) (followed by position [2], to which it is quite close) is probably the most well-known rhetorical method in NT scholarship today. This architectonic approach to Romans is particularly associated with the work of Robert Jewett, but it would be superfluous to attempt such an analysis here when introductions to the method already exist,[19] and a full-length study is soon to appear.[20] Here I will view Romans from the perspective of position (5), that is, in view of the argumentative dimension of the text, looking particularly to the work of Perelman and similar studies, but not ignoring the contribution of ancient rhetoric.

This approach urges us to consider Romans as 'one half of an argument'.[21] Like most arguments, this one probably involved real

Galatians with Notes on the Greek (Detroit: University of Detroit Press, 1966).

16. Cf. his programmatic 'Form Criticism and Beyond', *JBL* 88 (1969), pp. 1-18.

17. C. Perelman, with L. Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* (trans. J. Wilkinson and P. Weaver; Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 1958).

18. Cf. the survey in Wuellner, 'Rhetorical Criticism', pp. 463-64.

19. Cf. Wuellner, 'Rhetoric of Argumentation', in Donfried (ed.), *The Romans Debate*, pp. 128-46; Jewett, 'Following the Argument', in Donfried (ed.), *The Romans Debate*, pp. 265-77.

20. Jewett is writing the Romans commentary for the *Hermeneia* series.

21. Important precursors to the present study include F. Siegert, *Argumentation bei Paulus* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1985), and N. Elliott, *The Rhetoric of Romans* (JSNTSup 45; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990). Siegert's study does not consider the provenance of Romans but examines, in an almost entirely formal fashion, his techniques of argumentation (he concentrates on chs. 9–11). His observations

opponents—a critical issue that we must look at in more detail shortly. It also probably involved an agenda of key issues that were specifically in dispute;[22] but no doubt, as is often the case, it spilled over at times into mere 'point-scoring' and *ad hominem* invective; moreover, like other religious arguments, it probably involved disputes over the significance of authoritative sacred texts or scriptures. The two main components of this suggested explanation of Romans' contingency are its emphases on opponents and on the letter body as Paul's argumentative or rhetorical engagement with their hostile agenda.[23]

3. *Opponents and the Contingency of Romans*

I want to revive here—to a certain extent—the argument of the nineteenth-century Tübingen school that much of Paul, and specifically Romans, should be understood in the context of a bitter conflict within the early church. Intriguingly, this is one of the few points at which the new Tübingen school agrees with the old, since both Peter Stuhlmacher and Otfried Hofius, like F.C. Baur and Carl Weizsäcker,[24] speak of

complement the broad methodological proposal being made here. Elliott's study is in many ways a direct fulfilment of the methodological suggestions here: it is also notable for its general creativity and numerous fresh insights. While I find the overarching reading implausible, particularly his explanation of why Paul wrote Romans, it is inappropriate simply to dismiss this work in a footnote: it merits a lengthy engagement.

22. Although not necessarily raising the fundamental questions: a lot of disputes begin with questions that challenge more fundamental convictions not directly, but by implication. For example, the concern of many conservative Christians to affirm that the sun did indeed stand still, as suggested by Josh. 10.12-14, is not so much because their religious commitment depends on the truth of this particular event, but on the implicit principle of biblical inerrancy.

23. Analysis of the hermeneutical battle will have to be left for another occasion; cf. R.B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

24. Cf. P. Stuhlmacher, *Der Brief an die Römer* (NTD; Göttingen and Zürich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), pp. 10-15 ; F.C. Baur, *Paul: The Apostle of Jesus Christ* (trans. E. Zeller; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1876), *passim*; C. Weizsäcker, *Das apostolische Zeitalter der christlichen Kirche* (Freiburg: Mohr [Siebeck], 1886), pp. 415-53; cf. also Stuhlmacher's 'The Purpose of Romans', in Donfried (ed.), *The Romans Debate*, pp. 231-42, especially 239-40; Hofius' comments were made in his well-known yearly lectures on 'Der Römerbrief' at the University of Tübingen (Winter Semester, 1993–94).

Romans as an engagement with opponents[25] (although I know of few other scholars who do so—and still fewer who follow the insight through when interpreting the letter body[26]).

Much debate surrounds Paul's opponents these days; we are far from the pristine dialectic of Baur, who read every reference to an enemy in Paul's letters in terms of the Judaizers and, ultimately, Peter. Some scholars now suggest that we read every polemical comment, even within the same letter, with reference to a *different* enemy! My suggestion here is that if we posit militant Jewish Christian opponents in the background of Romans, we can then explain both the letter's infamous double character, as well as Paul's great sense of urgency when writing it.

Such opponents' criticisms of Paul's law-free gospel, and own more conventional Jewish soteriological claims, can explain the largely Jewish agenda in the letter body. Paul would have to deal with the questions being introduced into his Gentile Christian communities by such 'counter-missionaries': circumcision,[27] law-observance, the last judgment, the fatherhood of Abraham, ethical behaviour, scriptural fulfilment, the role of Israel in God's plans and so on. The possibly destructive effect of these opponents on a Pauline mission in Rome (already borne out by events in Galatia) would also explain Paul's deep concern lest their charges there go unanswered: not only could they subvert the Gentile Christians at Rome who have never heard Paul's

25. I would, however, want to adopt the more nuanced reading of these opponents found among twentieth-century scholars: it is unlikely that the opponents are in any sense Petrine. Though a connection with James, the Lord's brother, is possible, it depends on a literal and early reading of the NT letter from James and on a particular construal of *tinas apo Iakōbou* in Gal. 2.12. Moreover, this Antioch incident recounted in Gal. 2.11-15 must follow the conference, while the Jerusalem leaders must (*contra* the account in Acts 21.17-25) have behaved perfidiously after their earlier agreement with Paul (Gal. 2.1-10).

26. An important exception is Otto Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer* (MeyerK; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 13th edn, 1955).

27. M. Kettunen argues that circumcision is not an issue in Romans (or Philippians), hence the opponents here must be distinguished from the enemies at Galatia; cf. his *Der Abfassungszweck des Römerbriefes* (Helsinki: Suomalarinen Tiedeakatemia, 1979); 16.17-20 is discussed on pp. 62-73. But Romans *is* concerned with circumcision; cf. 2.25-3.1, 3.30, 4.9-12 (and cf. Phil. 3.2b-5a). In view of these radical redefinitions of *peritomē* by Paul it is unnecessary to posit a distinction vis-à-vis Galatia on this ground.

gospel (who with their attachment to Judaism[28] would be particularly vulnerable to such preaching), but any further evangelism, either in Rome or further afield in countries such as Spain, would also probably be jeopardized. And here we can also understand the more practical, Gentile, missionary concerns of the letter opening and closing: the impact of such opponents at Rome must be directly on Paul's Gentile sphere of authority and mission. Finally, the urgency of the letter can be explained by the fact that Paul's intervening trip to Jerusalem with a collection means that these opponents can reach Rome before him. The letter to the Romans is therefore something of a pre-emptive strike in that important strategic arena.

This last point is often overlooked, but it is a critical aspect of the problem of Romans' contingency. Paul specifically states in the letter[29] that he is coming to Rome himself, and soon! Only a trip to Jerusalem intervenes (so Rom. 15.25-28b, 30-31). With hindsight and the help of Acts we know that this trip took a little longer than Paul had anticipated, and so the despatch of Romans seems an excellent idea to us, but of course Paul had no such knowledge. Certainly he knew that his trip to Jerusalem would be dangerous (Rom. 15.30-31), but he was constantly in danger and had indeed just escaped some extremely difficult circumstances.[30] In Romans Paul is clearly expecting to arrive in Rome himself reasonably quickly, and at that point he can simply say many of the things that scholars seem to think he says in Romans, having spared himself the trouble of the letter itself! Something specifically compels Paul to stop at Corinth and take a great deal of time out of a busy schedule to compose carefully the discourse that is Romans (his longest single letter) and to have it sent to Rome, where it will arrive a matter of perhaps only a few months ahead of himself. Paul clearly believes that the Gentile Christians at Rome need to hear the information in Romans *now*. Hence, equally clearly, Romans was not composed in tranquility

28. Ambrosiaster comments that the Roman Christians remained attached to Jewish rites (quoted in W. Sanday and A.C. Headlam, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* [ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2nd edn, 1986], pp. xxv-xxvi). This observation is confirmed by what we know of the first Christian mission in Rome, which caused a great ruckus in the *Jewish* community (cf. Suetonius, *Claudius*, 25.4); see also the probable situation behind 14.1–15.1, where some Gentile Christians at Rome nevertheless seem to have Jewish dietary scruples (cf. n. 5).

29. More than once: cf. 1.9-13; 15.22-24, 28-29, 32.

30. Cf. 2 Cor. 1.8-10; 11.23-33; Phil. 1.20-23; and perhaps Rom. 16.4.

and at leisure: Paul was gripped by urgent concerns over the Roman situation when he wrote this letter.

The view that Romans was written to pre-empt militant Jewish Christian opponents supplies just this motivation (while, as far as I can see, no other explanation really does): they are soon to arrive in Rome, probably in anticipation of Paul's move further west.[31] Meanwhile the collection will delay Paul's own journey west by a detour through Jerusalem. Romans, like all Paul's letters, is therefore an attempt to deal with his absence from a Gentile Christian community at a critical juncture, in this case a temporary but significant absence from a potential crisis at Rome caused by the likely presence there of his zealous adversaries.[32]

The main justification for this view of Romans is that no other explanation really fits the basic parameters of the situation: Paul must discuss *Jewish* issues extensively with the *Gentile* Christians at Rome, and that urgently.[33] One is really compelled at this point to posit the approach to Rome of hostile Jewish Christian missionaries. We may also

31. I doubt that they are there already. If so, I think we would almost certainly see a much more direct approach from Paul (see the comments on the tone of his argument below). The warning in 16.17 at the end of the letter seems pre-emptive (as it is in Phil. 3.17-19), while the comment of 3.8 is also hypothetical (see the discussion below).

32. Romans conforms with R. Funk's programmatic observation that Paul always writes letters to situations where he would like to be present, but for some reason cannot, so a letter is written and sent to substitute for this: 'The Apostolic Parousia: Form and Significance', in W.R. Farmer, C.F.D. Moule, and R. Niebuhr (eds.), *Christian History and Interpretation: Studies Presented to John Knox* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 249-68; cf. also the more specific comments by L.A. Jervis, *The Purpose of Romans: A Comparative Letter-Structure Investigation* (JSNTSup 55; Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), pp. 110-31; Jervis's insight into Paul's extremely strong apostolic emphasis in the epistolary frame—another important but much-neglected aspect of the letter's provenance—integrates well with the present hypothesis: Paul's opponents would almost certainly have attacked his apostleship at Rome (cf. 1 Cor. 9.2; Gal. 1.11-2.1, and especially 2.8-9).

33. This last point counts particularly against the letter addressing a Jewish tension *within* the Christian community at Rome (arising perhaps as Claudius's expulsion edict 'lapses' on his death in 54 CE): even granting that the letter was written in 54 CE (or, perhaps, 55), it is hard to imagine such a conflict (as Paul depicts it in Romans) being urgent enough to require this letter before Paul's personal—and presumably much more informed—addressing of the problem on his arrival.

note here, however, that this type of situation, where one of Paul's Gentile Christian communities is being threatened by such figures, is something that also appears in some of his other letters.

Like Francis Watson, I hesitate to see the opponents of 2 Corinthians as a specific analogue to the anticipated enemy at Rome.[34] Although the situation is broadly similar, with Jewish Christians entering Paul's communities and proclaiming different, if not at times directly hostile,[35] teachings, the specific issues at stake seem to be different.[36] Precisely the Roman issues, however, do seem to be in dispute at Galatia, namely, circumcision, law-observance, righteousness and justification, the (countervailing) witness of the Spirit, the significance of Abraham (and, to a lesser extent, of the other patriarchs) and the motif of *ek pisteōs*.[37] These letters, as we would expect, are not exactly the same, but their similarities are nevertheless quite striking.[38] Many of the Roman issues are also mentioned in the brief digression of Phil. 3.2-11: circumcision, the Spirit, *pistis*, righteousness and the function of the law, while specific Jewish Christian opponents figure in 3.2(-6) and also (arguably[39]) in 3.18-19.[40] So here we have fairly direct evidence in two of Paul's other letters of pretty much the sort of opponents and issues that we have already argued in formal terms may motivate Romans.[41]

34. F. Watson, *Paul, Judaism and the Gentiles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 80-87: like Watson, I find the broader notion of 'a war on two fronts' to be both sufficiently sensitive to the basic differences we can detect between these Corinthian opponents and the more hostile, rigorous group we see elsewhere in Paul's letters (and they are of primary significance for the interpretation of Romans), and sufficiently simple to avoid an infinite regress of anti-Pauline hostility (Watson, *Paul*, pp. 49-80).

35. Cf. 2 Cor. 11.4-22.

36. At Corinth the dispute seems more over styles of leadership than fundamental soteriological matters, such as the need for circumcision.

37. Cf. the argument of the letter body, 2.15-4.7, but also 5.5-6 and 13-25.

38. It does not matter for this discussion if there is another libertine or Gnostic front operative in Galatia, although I am not convinced of the need for such a theory.

39. See the comments below on *koilia*.

40. It is not necessary to prove either that these comments reflect the same opponents or that the entire section belongs to the letter (although I would affirm both these points): it is enough to find similar enemies to those at Rome in a Pauline text.

41. Naturally, this evidence would be even more significant if it could be shown that Galatians and Philippians were both penned quite close in time to Romans. Then Romans would stand at the end of a short series of letters polemicizing against a single group of opponents, while their movements would be comprehensible as

4. *Opponents within the Text of Romans*

Over and above the formal and comparative arguments, however, a number of hints in the text of Romans itself suggest that opponents are in view as Paul composed it. I will note two of the more direct ones here.

As Victor Furnish and Neil Elliott (amongst others) have shown, Paul is enormously concerned to defend himself against the charge of antinomianism throughout Romans.[42] This concern surfaces repeatedly; in fact, it is one of the most consistent themes of the letter.[43] In ch. 3, within the diatribal discussion of vv. 1-9, Paul states clearly that someone is actually reporting that he preaches 'doing evil that good may come' (v. 8), and this is an antinomian criticism. Given that such a criticism is a very obvious one for Paul's Jewish Christian opponents to make in view of their advocacy of law-observance, this all suggests that Paul is systematically countering a quite concrete criticism of libertinism from his opponents throughout Romans. The comment in 3.8 is in this respect just the tip of the iceberg.

Against this, scholars such as Stanley Stowers and Thomas Schmeller would suggest that real opponents are not necessarily in view when Paul uses this distinctive question and answer technique, and hence 3.8 should not be read as implying this. For these scholars the diatribe is a pedagogical device, most at home in the philosophical schools (not in preaching and market-place controversy, as Bultmann suggested).[44] I am suspicious of such recommendations in the context of Romans, however, for four reasons.

First, the comparative evidence that Stowers and Schmeller use is

basically a single wave, spreading around from Jerusalem and across Paul's communities in the year in which all these letters were produced. I happen to think that this is the case; for a comparable position and fuller arguments see Watson, *Paul, Judaism and the Gentiles*, pp. 49-87.

42. V.P. Furnish, *Theology and Ethics in Paul* (Abingdon: Nashville, 1968), pp. 99-106; Elliott, *Rhetoric*, pp. 97-98.

43. Cf. 1.5, (1.18-32); 2.1-10, 16, 17-29; 5.3-4; 6.1-23; 8.3-14; 12.1-2, 9-13.14; 15.14, 16, 18; 16.19, 26b.

44. Cf. S. Stowers, *The Diatribe and Paul's Letter to the Romans* (Chico, CA: Scholars, 1981); *idem*, 'Paul's Dialogue with a Fellow Jew in Rom. 3.1-9', *CBQ* 46 (1984), pp. 707-22; *idem*, 'Social Stature, Public Speaking and Private Teaching: The Circumstances of Paul's Preaching Activity', *NovT* 26 (1984), pp. 60-82; and T. Schmeller, *Paulus und die 'Diatribe'* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1987).

drawn from the Graeco-Roman philosophical tradition. Within this broad framework, Philo's and Plutarch's writings are formal, crafted, literary publications. Moreover, the *hupomnēmata* of Musonius Rufus and Epictetus are, at the least, notes from the classroom reworked for publication. But how could actual opponents emerge from this type of literature, which does not address practical situations as Paul's letters do. So how can one justify the characterization of Paul's diatribal texts in similar terms? This seems to be a fundamentally inaccurate comparison. As G.A. Deissmann already warned (although in a slightly different context), there are important differences between Paul's letters and the world of cultured Graeco-Roman literature. To be sure, Paul shares textual features with the philosophers, but these can in no wise be taken as determinative for the function of similar texts in his very different letters.

Secondly, when one begins to examine the diatribal texts in Paul's letters closely, it looks very much as though the objections are at times acutely real for him. Three texts in particular deserve mention:

1. Paul slips into a diatribal parenthesis in Gal. 2.17-18 in the midst of a critical section: 'Does this mean that Christ is a minister of sin? By no means! If I rebuild what I destroyed I prove that I am a lawbreaker'. Here Paul has broken into a very important set of statements with this energetic refutation of the notion that Christ could be a servant, or even a priest (*diakonos*), of sin. In the context of the Galatian situation it seems difficult to deny that Paul is rebutting a specific and rather nasty charge against his gospel here: he has been accused of making Christ 'a priest of sin'!
2. In Romans 11 Paul digresses through a famous admonition concerning the relationship between Israel and the Gentiles in terms of an olive tree. This discussion is also diatribal in style, and Paul states at one point 'I am speaking to you Gentiles' (in v. 13a). This also looks like quite a concrete reference, and it is not difficult to take a further step to the probable situation that Paul is addressing, namely, a sense of arrogance within some Gentiles over against Jews and their failure to become Christians (and one is particularly reminded of the tendency of some Corinthians to self-inflation).
3. Finally, in the text we have just discussed, Rom. 3.8, Paul specifically states that one of the objections has actually been

made against him, moreover, the charge itself is really the same as the charge of Gal. 2.17-18; the claim that Paul's gospel is libertine.

In these three texts at least, it seems to me difficult to deny that Paul has real objections, and objectors, in mind.

Thirdly, I am not sure that the philosophical schools and their discussions were as quiet as Stowers suggests. It is critical for his case that diatribes were discourses scripted entirely by teachers, and over which they had complete control. Now, no doubt some schools were this disciplined, but there are also suggestions that the pupil-teacher relationship involved real questioning and debate, and at times raucous and irreverent comment. Consequently, I find the suggestion that the diatribe only ever reflects the concerns of its author-teacher implausible. If the diatribe reflects the classroom, it will probably also at times reflect the interaction in that context.[45]

Fourthly, this approach cannot tell us why Paul has written Romans. Stowers' reading means that Romans is in some sense a school exercise or pedagogical text. But is it really credible that Paul stops in Corinth to compose an instruction for the Roman Christians in the manner in which a Graeco-Roman philosopher would admonish his or her disciples? Not only does the basic relationship between Paul and the Christians at Rome seem to be inappropriately conceived,[46] but the text itself would be once again both unique and utterly puzzling when Paul is soon to arrive in Rome himself.

In view of these objections, we must at least remain open to the possibility that Paul's diatribes attack real persons and objections, even when these are embarrassingly close to anti-Semitic stereotypes.[47]

45. The Pharisees were supposedly characterized by a disciplined, reverent listening, while the Sadducees' schools were more raucous. Plutarch, in his advice on how to listen to a lecture, although himself advocating the ideal of quiet attentiveness, betrays that this was clearly not always the case: cf. his *De recta rationi audiendi*, 39 C, 42 F–43 F, 47 D, and 48 A–B (*Moralia*, LCL edn vol. I, pp. 204-59).

46. See below; Paul does not know most of the Roman Christians personally, so how can he presume to admonish them?

47. If Jews lay behind some of Paul's aggressive postures in Romans, simply pretending they were not there will not, in my opinion, resolve the problem. Although I am in complete sympathy with the 'post-Auschwitz' agenda of scholars such as L. Gaston, J. Gager, S. Stowers, and W.S. Campbell, we must find another way to read these texts in a constructive fashion (see below).

The clearest direct textual indicator of the opponents in Romans is not diatribal, however, and comes from a much-maligned little section at the end of the letter. Often 16.17-20 is excised as the overly vehement gloss of a later redactor. When one looks closely at the evidence for such excision, however, it is not impressive, while the general trend in Romans scholarship is towards a more integrated use of this chapter within the letter.[48] The section itself also bears an uncanny resemblance to polemic that Paul has written elsewhere against his opponents, while the connections with Philippians 3 are particularly close. Paul uses the same verb in this context, *skopein*, and accuses his opponents there of pandering to their *koilia*, a characterization practically identical to the warning in Romans.

This last is an important—although disputed—motif. It has been argued that the phrase reflects a libertine opposition,[49] but that seems difficult to sustain in the context of Romans where *Paul* is being accused of libertinism, presumably by his opponents.[50] Conversely, elsewhere in the NT this word figures centrally in disputes over the Jewish food laws;[51] an important problem in the early church[52] (and this is probably where the only other relevant Pauline instance, 1 Cor. 6.13, stems from[53]). A connection is also possibly to be found with the

48. Cf. the comments of K.P. Donfried, 'A Short Note on Romans 16', in Donfried (ed.), *The Romans Debate*, pp. 44-52, who particularly criticizes John Knox's case for the section's excision; H. Gamble's study was significant in turning the tide of the consensus on whether ch. 16 belonged to the original Roman text: cf. his *The Textual History of the Letter to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977).

49. For example, by W. Schmithals, although of course this is in the context of Gnosticism; he favours the theory that ch. 16 (vv. 1-20) is a separate letter to Ephesus: cf. his *Paul and the Gnostics* (trans. J. Steely; Nashville: Abingdon, 1972 [1965]), pp. 219-38; *idem*, *Der Römerbrief als historisches Problem* (SNT 9; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1975), pp. 125-51, especially 148-51; and *idem*, *Der Römerbrief: Ein Kommentar* (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1988), pp. 543-65, especially 60-62.

50. Cf. the discussion of 3.8 above.

51. When the activities of those still attached to *kasrut* are perceived by the more liberal to conflict with the interests of the gospel they are characterized—not overly kindly—as serving their stomachs rather than God.

52. Cf. Mk 7.14-23 and Gal. 2.11-14; but also Acts 10.9-16, 11.1-10; Rom. 14.1-4, 14-15.1; and 1 Cor. 8.1-13, and 10.1-33.

53. This phrase reads like a Corinthian slogan that Paul is quoting back to them and correcting. In Hurd's reconstruction of the history and nature of 'the Corinthian

discussion of dietary matters in 14.1–15.1. Hence, Paul's disparaging use of *koilia* to characterize his opponents may suggest a Jewish, nomistic tendency on their part.

Given that Paul often adds pithy exhortations and admonitions at the end of his letters, and that these are often particularly biting,[54] why have scholars largely ignored the direct implications of this section for so long? Here Paul specifically instructs his audience to watch out for false teachers, who will differ from the teaching the Romans have received (which of course includes the present letter![55]), and he does not mince words describing them. They are mentioned in the same breath as Satan, while their general characterization recalls the serpent from the Genesis account. They are subtle, clever and probably scripturally proficient opponents.[56]

Reply' and 'the Previous Letter', this comment links up with Paul's original preaching at Corinth. The Corinthian problems with Paul, reflected in their letter, then stem from *his* departure from his earlier, more radical, stance, presumably because of the compromises exacted from him at the council in Jerusalem. These compromises are then seen in 'the Apostolic decree', where dietary restrictions have been introduced (although not the full Jewish regulations: cf. Acts 15.19-29). I find Hurd's long and complicated reconstruction convincing. What is important for our purposes is the setting of the comment of 1 Cor. 6.13 originally in an abrogation of *kasrut* at Corinth by Paul: cf. J.C. Hurd, *The Origin of 1 Corinthians* (New York: Seabury, 1965).

54. Cf. 2 Cor. 13.1-10; Gal. 6.11-17; also 1 Cor. 4.14-21.

55. Paul carefully links these together: in 6.17 he commends his audience for submitting to the form or type of teaching that was originally delivered to them, and in 16.17 he warns that the opponents will act *against* the teaching 'which you have learned'. He then commends the Romans for their 'submission'. But in 1.5, 15.18, and 16.26 Paul speaks of the 'submission' of the Gentiles everywhere to *his* divinely appointed gospel. And in 15.14-15 he specifically links the letter with the teaching the Romans already have: they are already enriched with all knowledge and therefore capable of teaching and admonishing one another (v. 14). Paul's letter is thus an overly-bold attempt to remind them of what they already know. The connections are subtle but clear: Paul's letter and teaching is of a piece with that which the Romans have already learned, and their previous submission should therefore continue into the present situation, where it will also match that of all the Gentiles to Paul's gospel (cf. Kettunen, *Abfassungszweck*, pp. 68-69).

56. Paul's depiction of these opponents is subtly informed by the motif of the (Satanic) serpent in Genesis 3, with his use of the verb *exapataō*. In the NT only Paul uses this word (excepting a 'school use' [?] in 1 Tim. 2.14), and in Rom. 7.11 and 2 Cor. 11.3 its Genesis connotation is clear. The charge is admittedly the same as that levelled by Paul against his Corinthian opponents, and therefore need suggest nothing more than that they are, in Paul's view, both cunning and incorrect.

Against this conclusion, one could argue that this is a standard Pauline warning, but in fact Paul doesn't speak in this fashion without a reason. Why then is it not a more extensive warning? For reasons we will discuss shortly, Paul cannot be too specific or too scathing in the Roman situation. It therefore seems to me most likely that this short section is a small but very important window into some of Paul's deepest concerns when Romans was dictated.[57]

This view of Romans as countering Jewish *Christian* opponents has important, even liberating, implications for the 'post-Auschwitz agenda'. Much recent exegesis on Romans has suggested that its argument is not a direct attack, in the belief that its target is Judaism (or, failing this, it is an incoherent one)[58]—hence such work has been done with the best of intentions. But if Paul's opponents are Jewish Christian opponents, not Jews, such apologetic exegesis is unnecessary. Paul is not attacking Judaism per se in Romans: he is attacking a hybrid Jewish Christian combination, and there is a world of difference between these two positions.[59] This is not to say that there are not implications for Judaism in what Paul says—the agenda of Romans, as we have seen, is basically composed of Jewish questions—but clearly Romans is not Paul's direct

57. In support of the foregoing, note the theme of strengthening, present in 1.11, and also in the much-disputed doxology at 16.25 (Stuhlmacher endorses the Pauline origin of the text: cf. his *Der Brief an die Römer*, pp. 225-27). The verb only occurs elsewhere in Paul's writings in the Thessalonian correspondence (cf. 1 Thess. 3.2, 13; and perhaps 2 Thess. 2.17; 3.3, where the presence of the word in eschatological prayers reflects the actual social pressure the Thessalonian community is under: cf. also 1 Thess. 1.6; 2.2, 14; 3.3-5; 2 Thess. 1.4-7; 2.2-3). In Paul the word always denotes strong social pressures on the Christian community. We must ask, therefore, who is placing pressure on the Roman Christians? Given the extensive Jewish concerns of the letter body, the answer must have some relation to Judaism. Since there is no indication in the letter that the Roman Gentiles are facing pressure directly from the Jewish community, however, Jewish Christian opponents once again seem the most plausible explanation: it is against them that Paul is seeking, through his letter, to strengthen the Roman Christians.

58. Cf. the work of Stowers (cited above); also his '*ek pisteōs* and *dia tēs pisteōs* in Rom. 3.30', *JBL* 108 (1989), pp. 665-74; cf. also L. Gaston, 'Israel's Misstep in the Eyes of Paul', in Donfried (ed.), *The Romans Debate*, pp. 309-26.

59. If Paul views salvation unconditionally, that is, as a revelation (see Gal. 1.15-16), then *nothing in Romans is necessarily directly addressed by him to Jews*. This would be pointless. Paul's Jewish Christian opponents, however, are Christians who have failed to understand what Christianity is all about: they are not Jews, who have failed to understand what Judaism is all about.

'dialogue with Judaism.' This is to introduce an anti-semitic conundrum where it is not necessary.[60]

5. *Romans as Rhetoric*

If we posit the presence of opponents in the contingent situation of Romans our view of the text changes dramatically. The letter becomes an argument, fashioned by Paul to achieve certain goals within his perception of a debate at Rome. We are on fairly safe ground assuming that Paul wants his, not his opponents', gospel to be established there, so we would still expect Romans to give us a description of Paul's deepest theological convictions at some point. But since an argument is unfolding we must distinguish Paul's positive declarations of his gospel both from his defences against the charges of his opponents and from his attacks on the positive statements, or gospel, of those same opponents.[61] This is the rhetorical dimension of our interpretative task.

One might object at this point, why then is the argumentative tone of Romans so different from that of Galatians (and of Philippians 3)? Why do we not see the same scathing aggression here as there? Why this puzzling level of abstraction and fulness in the letter body, a tone which seems to belie the idea that real opponents are the object of Paul's arguments? As has often been pointed out, however, the Roman Christians are not Paul's converts. He has as yet no direct authority over them (and cannot therefore simply claim 'founder's rights' as he can at

60. This view allows us to return to classic analyses of Romans that have been de-emphasized in recent times because of their apparently anti-semitic flavour. Both K. Barth and E. Käsemann (amongst others) have characterized Paul's target in Romans as *homo religiosus*: cf. the comments of Barth, *Der Römerbrief* (Zürich: EVZ-Verlag, 1963 [1919]), especially pp. 23-28 in his discussion of Rom. 2.1-6; and Käsemann, 'Paul and Israel', in *New Testament Questions of Today* (trans. W.J. Montague; London: SCM Press, 1969), pp. 184-85; and 'Justification and Salvation History in the Epistle to the Romans', in *Perspectives on Paul* (trans. M. Kohl; London: SCM Press, 1971), pp. 71-72. This, of course, is a scandalously embarrassing conclusion if that opponent is a Jew. But if Paul's opponent is a Jewish Christian opponent, then both Barth and Käsemann are absolutely right: such a person *is* an example of the quintessential religious person, who modifies the gracious revelation of God's gospel because of a prior attachment to religious practices.

61. It is precisely at this point that, I think, interpretation has often failed us in the past. Scholars have generally been oblivious to these argumentative distinctions within the text of Romans.

Corinth[62]). Moreover, the Roman Gentile Christians have not been exposed for an extended period of time to his teaching, so Paul's approach can presuppose neither previous loyalty nor knowledge of his teaching: it must be more systematic and fully argued than all his other letters.

Not only this, but Paul's opponents may not yet have arrived in Rome when the letter does. Paul probably wants his letter to get there first, so the Gentile Christians have it directly to hand when the Judaizers arrive with their various criticisms and challenges. But Paul can hardly launch a stinging counter-attack before his opponents have appeared—he would only thereby confirm the worst things people have heard about him. His approach in Romans must therefore also be much more delicate.

Insights from ancient discourse can also help us at this point. As Hans Dieter Betz has noted, Paul is manipulating the *topos* of friendship throughout Galatians. Part of this *topos* was the phenomenon of 'boldness', or *parrēsia*.[63] The bold approach was appropriate when one felt that friends needed frank speech and criticism to deal with a problem, indeed, the good friend could sometimes reach quite rhetorical extremes in this (e.g. anger, or even abuse). Such frankness should be interpreted, of course, as a sign of great concern. Plutarch comments that such honest if blunt speech is 'the special voice...of friendship' (*Adulat.* 51C). But such language can only be so read in the light of a prior relationship of some strength and intimacy, and while this relationship of friendship obtained for Paul with both his Galatian and Corinthian churches, primarily because he founded them (but also because his concern for them continued) it did not in Rome. Such direct language could only be read there as utterly inappropriate.[64] Hence Paul's tone at Rome must be quite different, and perhaps closer to the

62. Cf. 1 Cor. 3.6a, 10a, 11; 4.14-15; 2 Cor. 10.13-17.

63. *Galatians*, p. 228, n. 9: Betz discusses the friendship *topos* particularly in relation to Gal. 4.12-20 (pp. 220-37): on frankness, cf. Plutarch, *Quomodo Adulator Ab Amico Internoscatur* ('How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend'), 50 B, 51 C, 55 B–C, 59 A–60 D, 61 B–D, 62 A, and 66 D–74 E (*Moralia*, LCL, I, pp. 264-395).

64. It may be that there is also a simple, more emotional, dimension here: Paul has a close relationship with the Galatian and Corinthian Christians, but not with the Roman Christians. Converting the former group from his teaching would therefore really 'hurt', while the latter group could be viewed more dispassionately by Paul. One would expect an angrier reaction by Paul in the former case.

rhetorical strategies of *insinuatio* (the subtle or clever approach) and *prolēmpsis* (anticipation).[65]

Unfortunately, there is not space to prove my methodological suggestion concerning Romans' rhetorical, argumentative contingency here. This would take a long description of how an interpretation of the letter body in terms of an argumentative engagement with a Judaizing agenda generates a better reading than the alternatives.[66] The briefest of examples must suffice to illustrate the suggestion's interpretative function here.

6. *Coherence or Contingency in Romans 1.16b?*

It is often said in view of the statement 'Jew first and then Greek' in Rom. 1.16b that Paul is committed to the priority of Israel,[67] and this is (therefore) part of his deeper, coherent convictions.[68] I do not doubt that Paul is committed in some sense to Israel, but in the rest of Romans Paul actually radically undermines this particular principle.[69]

65. Cf. Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* (LCL), 4 4.42, 48, and 49.

66. For an attempt (which is still too brief) see Elliott, *Rhetoric*.

67. Note that the critical part of this statement is not the antithesis 'Jew and Greek', which can be found elsewhere in the Pauline corpus (cf. 1 Cor. 1.22-24; 10.32; 12.13; Gal. 3.28; Col. 3.11): it is the statement 'Jew *first*...' (*prōton*) that gives the phrase here its unusual significance.

68. See J.D.G. Dunn's comment: 'he [Paul] does not for a moment forget, nor does he want his Gentile readers to forget... Jewish priority in God's saving purpose...; but *equally fundamental* is his conviction that Jewish priority does not shift the "terms of salvation" one whit beyond faith. The need to explain and defend this double emphasis is the driving force behind the whole epistle'; *Romans 1–8* (WBC; Dallas: Word Books, 1988), p. 40 (emphasis added).

69. Commentators often dissemble at this point, or claim that Paul is anticipating the discussion of chs. 9–11; cf. Ulrich Wilckens: '... diese Prävalenz... wird... in Röm 9–11, thematisch behandelt': *Der Brief an die Römer* (EKKNT; Zürich: Benziger; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978), I, p. 86. This last claim should be challenged, however: Israel is saved, but *last*, not first. She is also saved in spite of herself (cf. the stubbornness and rejection of 9.30–10.21). It is hard to see *priority* here: that word does not appear in Paul's discussion at this point, but is replaced by 'election' (priority or privilege defined in this theocentric sense would probably be quite acceptable to Paul, although perhaps not to his opponents). Lietzmann's comment is more to the point: 'eine faktische wertlose Konzession an das "auserwählte Volk Gottes" handelt' (cited by Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer*, I, p. 86 n. 108).

The saying only occurs again in this precise form three times, initially in 2.9-10. But here Paul has well and truly turned the tables: the priority of the Jew is a priority *in judgment*—and possibly quite a harsh one—where mere possession of the law is no advantage at this eschatological assize. After this we read in 3.1 (not surprisingly) 'What then *is* the advantage (*perisson*) of the Jew?, or what is the value (*ōpheleia*) of circumcision?' These questions are pointed rephrasings of the statement in 1.16b. Paul denies that he rejects this principle that Jews have 'much (advantage) in every way: *first*, that they have been entrusted with the oracles of God' (3.2). As commentators have long recognized, however, Paul goes on, not to address Jewish privilege (at least not until ch. 9), but to deny in the ensuing diatribe the moral culpability of God if Israel, in fact, has not acted in a privileged fashion—or even been privileged. Paul's conclusion to this diatribe in 3.9 is particularly significant because here the slogan reappears in a radically redefined sense: 'What (then) can we put up as a defence?[70] *Nothing at all*: for we have already charged that *Jew and Gentile are all under sin*'. That is, Paul might concede that the Jew enjoys gifts from God, but these 'privileges' do not seem to include a fundamental soteriological dimension.

It is also significant that here Paul links the slogan with the motif of 'all' (or 'every': *pas*), a recurrent theme in Romans that clearly expresses the idea of equality against any sense that the Jew (is, or might be) first. The conclusion of 3.9 (where 'all/every' occurs three times) is reiterated in 3.19-20 after a rather sombre Scriptural catena: '...whatsoever the law says it says to those in the law, so that *every* mouth should be closed and *all* the cosmos might be submitted to God...' Shortly after, Paul's aside[71] in 3.22c-24 is prompted by the word 'all' and continues this polemical emphasis: 'the righteousness of God has been revealed...to *all* who believe—for there is *no difference*; for *all* sinned and lack the glorious image of God...'

Elsewhere in Romans the Jew–Gentile contrast reappears, but always tendentiously (and usually specifically) in relation to this idea of soteriological equality. For example, in 3.29-30, 'the One God' should

70. A difficult expression, read here as a (unique) middle transitive, although cf. *1 En.* 99.3-4. The similarity of this intertext to others that inform much of Paul's discourse adds to this reading's credibility: cf. Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, pp. 146-48; Elliott, *Rhetoric*, pp. 132-33, especially n. 2. The alternative does not, however, affect my basic point.

71. For this syntactical reading see Campbell, *Rhetoric*, pp. 83-101.

vindicate the circumcision *and* the uncircumcision in *the same* manner. Then, in ch. 4, Abraham is 'father of all who believe in (the state of) uncircumcision...*and* father of the circumcised—of those who are not circumcised alone, but also walk in conformity with the footsteps of the faithfulness in uncircumcision of our father Abraham' (4.11b-12; cf. also v. 16). Finally, in ch. 10: 'there is *no difference* between Jew and Greek, for *the same* Lord of *all* is richly disposed to *all* who call on him'.[72]

In view of this consistent countervailing polemic I regard it as quite likely that the slogan 'Jew first and then Greek' is not Paul's invention; Paul launches a sustained attack on this theme throughout Romans. That is, having first stated the principle (while still paying lip-service to it at times), he proceeds to undermine it argumentatively, consistently asserting the soteriological equality of Jews and Gentiles, both in short asides and in longer arguments, using a variety of countervailing motifs such as 'all', 'the same', 'no difference' and so on. Not only, therefore, should we assign this specific point to the letter's contingency, but Paul's sustained concern to refute it suggests that it may well have originated within the Judaizers' coherent convictions. In short, it seems best explained as one of his opponent's central principles, which he is attacking.[73]

Here the value of a rhetorical reading of Romans is apparent: if we fail to ground Paul's statement in 1.16b in its contingency, in the context of an argumentative engagement with the claims of his opponents, we will end up attributing it to Paul himself (as many commentators do). The result would be that we read Paul in terms of those opponents—a not inconsiderable historical irony!

This brief example also shows how a rhetorical approach to Romans forces us to ask very different questions of the letter body. Some of our most cherished theological assumptions that are grounded in Romans will now be forced to run a methodological gauntlet, from which not all will emerge unscathed.[74] It must suffice here, however, merely to

72. Here the connection between the original slogan and 3.22c-23 is made quite explicit.

73. Paul's own convictions are probably much more clearly, and consistently, expressed in ch. 11, especially 11.28-32 (which follows a disclosure formula in v. 25): here Israel is actually *an enemy* of the gospel, although God is, in the end, still deeply committed to Israel.

74. One cannot help thinking here of 'the righteousness of God' (*dikaiosunē theou*) and 'faith' (*pistis*).

suggest that rhetoric, conceived broadly as argumentation but not excluding the specific contribution of ancient rhetorical theory, is the crucial methodological mediation between the contingent circumstances of Romans and its reflection of Paul's deepest theological concerns. Between these two poles it posits an argumentative engagement by Paul with the concerns of certain opponents who are shortly to appear in Rome. Hence a rhetorical approach, sensitive to this dimension in the text, will lead us out of the deceptive contingency of Romans' letter body and on to a more accurate, and dynamic, characterization of Paul's deepest convictions about God's saving revelation in Christ, that is, of his gospel: a task of which Richard Longenecker would heartily approve, and to which his own life has been dedicated.

PREACHING THE GOSPEL IN ROME: A STUDY OF THE EPISTOLARY FRAMEWORK OF ROMANS

Jeffrey A.D. Weima

Richard Longenecker has rightly insisted that the examination and interpretation of any Pauline letter must take as its starting point an analysis of the letter's epistolary structure. This recognition of the importance of a letter structure approach is illustrated, for example, in his recent commentary on Galatians:

> Since form and content are inseparable in the study of any writing, it is necessary to give attention not only to what is said but also to how it is said—that is, to the forms used to convey meaning and to the function served by each particular form. Therefore, prior to considering the specific content of Galatians (i.e. prior to exegesis proper), it is essential that we analyze the epistolary and rhetorical structures of the letter.[1]

In this article I hope to follow the path of my esteemed teacher by examining the letter structure of Romans in the belief that such an inquiry is an essential first step in coming to a clearer understanding of the intention of Paul in that letter. More specifically, I will examine the theme of 'gospel' as it occurs in the epistolary framework of Romans (1.1-15; 15.14–16.27).

The subject of gospel, along with the correlate idea of apostleship,[2] is

1. R. N. Longenecker, *Galatians* (Dallas: Word Books, 1990), p. ci.

2. N.A. Dahl, *Studies in Paul* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1977), p. 71, states: 'In Pauline usage, the words "gospel" and "apostle" are correlated.' G. Friedrich ('εὐαγγέλιον', *TDNT*, II, p. 733) likewise states: 'The apostolate and the Gospel are most closely related'. The intimate connection between these two words was observed already by A. Fridrichsen, 'TO EYAΓΓEΛION hos Paulus', *NorTT* 13 (1912), pp. 153-70, 209-56; see also his later study, *The Apostle and his Message* (Uppsala: Lundeqvist, 1947).

the glue that holds the opening, thanksgiving, apostolic parousia and closing sections together.[3] These epistolary units emphasize Paul's divine calling and obligation to preach the gospel to the Roman Christians. As the apostle to the Gentiles, Paul felt uniquely qualified to share with the believers in Rome *his* gospel in the conviction that this would strengthen their faith in the face of Jewish–Gentile tensions within the Roman churches. Before presenting his gospel in the body of the letter, however, Paul must first induce these readers whom he has neither converted nor visited to accept him and the gospel that he proclaims. Thus, the epistolary framework of the letter plays a crucial role in establishing Paul as the Roman Christians' divinely appointed apostle whose gospel should be accepted.[4]

1. *The Letter Opening (1.1-7)*

a. *The Form and Function of the Pauline Letter Opening*

The letter opening is the most formally consistent section of Paul's letters, being made up of three epistolary conventions. First, there is the *Sender* formula which typically consists of three formal elements: (1) the name of Paul; (2) a title, most commonly 'apostle' (1 Cor. 1.1; 2 Cor. 1.1; Gal. 1.1; Eph. 1.1; Col. 1.1; 1 Tim. 1.1; 2 Tim. 1.1; Tit. 1.1) but sometimes also 'servant' (Rom. 1.1; Phil. 1.1; Tit. 1.1); and (3) a short descriptive phrase, indicating the source of his apostleship or servanthood: 'of Christ Jesus' (missing only in 1 Thess. 1.1 and 2 Thess. 1.1). Secondly, there is the *Recipient* formula which consists of two

3. G. Klein, 'Paul's Purpose in Writing the Epistle to the Romans', in K. Donfried (ed.), *The Romans Debate* (Peabody: Hendrikson, rev. edn, 1991 [1977]), p. 35 notes: 'But it is exactly the theme of the gospel and Paul's responsibility for carrying it out in Rome which connect the letter's opening, body and closing'.

4. The first to suggest that Paul in the letter of Romans is preaching his gospel apparently was Dahl (*Studies in Paul*, p. 77): 'What Paul does in his letter is what he had for a long time hoped to do in person: he preached the gospel to those in Rome (see 1.15)'. This position has subsequently been adopted by a few other scholars as well: e.g., S. Pedersen, 'Theologische Überlegungen zur Isagogik des Römerbriefes', *ZNW* 76 (1985), pp. 63-67; P. Bowers, 'Fulfilling the Gospel: The Scope of the Pauline Mission', *JETS* 20 (1987), pp. 195-96; N. Elliott, *The Rhetoric of Romans* (JSNTSup 45; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), pp. 69-87, esp. pp. 84, 87. The most significant development of this thesis is that of L.A. Jervis, *The Purpose of Romans: A Comparative Letter Structure Investigation* (JSNTSup 55; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991).

formal elements: (1) the designation of the recipient, normally the word ἐκκλησία along with the name of the city or region where the church is located; and (2) a brief phrase that positively describes the readers' relationship to God and/or Christ: e.g. 'in God (our) Father and the Lord Jesus Christ' (1 Thess. 1.1; 2 Thess. 1.1); 'in Christ Jesus' (1 Cor. 1.2; Phil. 1.1). The third and final epistolary convention of the Pauline letter opening is the *Greeting* formula which includes three formal elements: (1) the greeting: 'grace and peace'; (2) the recipient: 'to you'; and (3) the divine source: 'from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ'. The form of the Pauline letter opening thus is as follows:

(1) Sender formula
  (a) Name of sender
  (b) Title
  (c) Short descriptive phrase, indicating source of title
(2) Recipient formula
  (a) Identification of recipient
  (b) Short phrase, positively describing the recipients' relationship to God
(3) Greeting formula
  (a) Greeting
  (b) Recipient
  (c) Divine source

The letter opening functions as more than merely a means for Paul to establish or maintain contact with his readers, for Paul frequently adapts the form of the letter opening in significant ways that further his intentions at work in the rest of the letter.

b. *The Letter Opening of Romans*

When the letter opening of Romans is compared with the rather consistent pattern found in the opening sections of Paul's other letters as outlined above, the distinctive character of Rom. 1.1-7 becomes readily apparent. For while the recipient and greeting formulas are relatively consistent with Paul's practice elsewhere, the sender formula has been expanded in an unparalleled manner. This elaboration of the sender formula suggests that Paul is concerned with presenting himself to the believers in Rome. Since Paul is writing to churches that he has neither founded nor visited (1.10,13; 15.22), it is essential that he introduce himself and his gospel in a manner that wins their acceptance.

In this regard, it is significant that Paul identifies only himself in the sender formula, omitting the names of any co-sender(s). This omission is striking not only because it is an anomaly among the other Pauline letter openings but also because Timothy, his closest associate, was in fact with Paul at the time of writing (Rom. 16.21a; compare 2 Cor. 1.1; Phil. 1.1; Col. 1.1; 1 Thess. 1.1; 2 Thess. 1.1) as were several other leading Christians from Achaia (Rom. 16.21b-23). Paul, it appears, is seeking to draw the attention of his largely unknown readers to himself and, as the rest of the letter opening indicates, to his gospel.[5]

The same concern also explains why Paul did not use merely one title to describe himself, as in all his other letter openings, but three: 'a servant of Christ Jesus, called to be an apostle, set apart for the gospel of God' (v. 1b). Paul's apostolic status and role in relation to the Roman believers is stressed by both the number of titles used and his choice of epithets. The first epithet, 'a servant of Christ Jesus' (δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ), echoes an Old Testament designation for those who were divinely called to perform special tasks of leadership (e.g. Moses, Joshua, David, Jonah).[6] It also echoes the stereotyped phrase 'servants of God' used in the intertestamental literature to refer to divinely inspired prophets (e.g. 1 QpHab 2.8-9; 7.5; 1 QH 1.3; 4 Ezra 1.32; 2.1,18). Although the Roman believers may not have fully understood these echoes in the self-designation 'servant of Christ Jesus', it is clear that Paul is presenting himself as one who is divinely authorized to share with them his gospel.

The second epithet, 'called to be an apostle' (κλητὸς ἀπόστολος), has a similar authoritative function. The only other letter opening to use this phrase is 1 Corinthians—a letter where Paul's apostolic status vis-à-vis the Corinthian church was at stake.[7] It would appear, then, that this second epithet was chosen by Paul to stress the divine source of his apostolic status. Even though the Roman churches do not know Paul personally, they should nevertheless accept him as a 'called apostle'

5. J.D.G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8* (Dallas: Word Books, 1988), p. 7: 'In this instance [i.e., the omission of co-senders] we may assume therefore that Paul wanted to present himself in his own person to these largely unknown congregations, as (the) apostle to the Gentiles (cf. 11.13), and with the subsequent exposition of the gospel understood very much as his'.

6. See Josh. 14.7; 24.29; Judg. 2.8; 2 Kgs 9.7; 17.23; Ezra 9.11; Ps. 89.3; Isa. 49.3; 53.11; Jon. 1.9.

7. See G.D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), esp. pp. 4-10.

whose gospel message bears the authority of God himself.

The significance of the third epithet, 'set apart for the gospel of God' (ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ), is heightened by the fact that it is unparalleled in Paul's other letters. The first part of this phrase should evoke not discussions of a word play on 'Pharisee'[8] but prophetic vocation (see Jer. 1.5; Acts 13.22; Gal. 1.15).[9] For when the notion of being 'set apart' is combined with the previous two epithets, it appears that Paul is claiming before his Roman readers an authority enjoyed by the prophets. The specific activity where this prophetic authority of Paul manifests itself is in proclaiming the 'gospel of God'. Here we meet for the first time the intimate connection between the themes of 'gospel' and 'apostleship'—correlated themes that will manifest themselves again and again in the epistolary framework of the letter. Paul presents himself as one who, in the tradition of the prophets of old, has been divinely appointed by God to preach the gospel. The implied challenge, then, is that the Roman believers will recognize Paul's authority and accept his gospel message.

At this point in the letter opening, Paul's normal pattern would be to proceed to the recipient formula. Here in Romans, however, Paul interrupts this pattern by inserting a lengthy description of the gospel that he has been set apart to proclaim. This suggests that there may have been some confusion in Rome concerning Paul's gospel (see Rom. 3.8), thereby requiring him to clarify his position and so win the confidence of his readers. He first defines the gospel as 'that which was promised beforehand, through his prophets, in the Holy Scriptures' (v. 2). The emphasis in these three phrases should not be missed. Paul's gospel does not involve some radically new teaching but is in complete continuity with the message of the Old Testament.

Paul further wins the confidence of his readers by incorporating what quite likely is confessional material of the early church: '[the gospel] concerning his son, who was from the seed of David according to the flesh, who was appointed Son of God in power according to the Spirit

8. This interpretation has been advocated by several commentators: e.g. K.L. Schmidt, 'ἀφορίζω', *TDNT*, V, p. 454; A. Nygren, *Commentary on Romans* (London: SCM Press, 1952), pp. 45-46; C.K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (New York: Harper & Row, 1957), p. 17; M. Black, *Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1973), p. 34.

9. So E. Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans* (trans. and ed. G.W. Bromiley; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), p. 6; Elliott, *Rhetoric of Romans*, p. 72.

of holiness, from the resurrection of the dead, our Lord Jesus Christ' (vv. 3-4).[10] This serves as a clear signal to the Roman Christians that he shares with them a common gospel and faith. Even if Paul is not citing a creedal formulation,[11] his definition of the gospel in terms of Jesus being 'his [God's] son', 'the seed of David', 'the Son of God' and 'our Lord Jesus Christ' would reassure his readers as to the orthodox nature of his message. Thus, by skilfully expanding the form of the sender formula, Paul is able to create trust and solidarity with the believers in Rome.[12]

Paul has already gone a long way in the letter opening towards establishing the legitimacy of his apostolic calling and the trustworthiness of his gospel. In the remainder of the letter opening (vv. 5-6), Paul continues this purpose but also takes the extra step of placing the Roman believers within the sphere of his apostolic commission and gospel. The expansion of the sender formula continues with the relative clause 'through whom we received grace and apostleship' (v. 5a). This second reference to his apostleship, unparalleled in his other letter openings, serves to emphasize once again Paul's divine calling and responsibility. Furthermore, since the antecedent of the relative clause is 'our Lord Jesus Christ' (v. 4b), Paul establishes a direct line of authority for his apostleship from Christ to himself.

The use of the plural 'we received' is difficult to explain with

10. Most contemporary scholars believe that Paul here is citing traditional material of the early church: e.g., E. Linnemann, 'Tradition und Interpretation in Röm. 1.3f', *EvT* 31 (1971), pp. 264-75; Käsemann, *Romans*, pp. 10-14; P. Beasley-Murray, 'Romans 1.3f.: An Early Confession of Faith in the Lordship of Jesus', *TynBul* 31 (1980), pp. 147-54; Dunn, *Romans*, pp. 5, 10-16; R. Jewett, 'The Reaction and Use of an Early Christian Confession in Romans 1.3-4', in D.E. Groh and R. Jewett (eds.), *The Living Text* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1985), pp. 99-122; R. Jewett, 'Ecumenical Theology for the Sake of Mission: Romans 1.1-17 + 15.14-16.24', in E.H. Lovering, Jr (ed.), *SBLSP* 1992 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), pp. 604-609.

11. So, e.g., V.S. Poythress, 'Is Romans 1^{3-4} a *Pauline* Confession After All?', *ExpTim* 87 (1975–76), pp. 180-83; D. Moo, *Romans 1–8* (Chicago: Moody, 1991), pp. 38-39, 48-49.

12. A similar purpose is probably at work later in the letter opening with the phrase that Paul uses to describe the goal of his apostleship: 'for the obedience of faith' (v. 5a). The faith that Paul's apostleship seeks to bring about is intimately connected with obedience—the very same response that God has always expected from his covenant people. Thus, once again Paul stresses that his apostleship involves a gospel that is in complete continuity with the message of the Old Testament.

certainty. Although many have interpreted it as an 'epistolary plural',[13] this seems unlikely given the precision with which Paul has sought to focus attention on himself and particularly on his apostolic calling in the letter opening as well as the care with which he speaks elsewhere on matters of apostleship.[14] If one instead treats 'we received' as a real plural, it may be that Paul is referring to the grace which he and his readers received (see Rom. 5.2; 12.6) while the apostleship applies only to himself.[15] If so, then Paul has brought together the notion of the grace experienced by the Roman believers with the idea of his apostleship in a subtle way in which the two become related. In other words, the grace that the Romans receive and experience from Christ is in some way connected with their recognition of Paul's Christ-given apostleship.

If this connection is only hinted at in v. 5a, it is made explicit in verses 5b-6a. The apostleship that Paul has received is 'for the obedience of faith among all the Gentiles for the sake of his name, among whom you also are, the called of Jesus Christ'. The logic of Paul's argumentation in these verses is clear:

1st Premise:	'I have received apostleship from Christ to preach the gospel among all the Gentiles'.
2nd Premise:	'You believers in Rome belong to that group of people, the Gentiles'.
Conclusion:	'I, therefore, have a divine responsibility to share my gospel with you'.

Although Paul does not explicitly state this conclusion, it would have been readily apparent to his Roman readers.[16] Especially in the context of Paul's intentions that have been at work in the rest of the letter opening, this is a not so subtle attempt by Paul to place the Roman Christians under the authority of his apostolic calling and gospel. As Douglas Moo, commenting on the phrase 'among whom are you also' (v. 6a) notes, 'the purpose of this remark [is] to show the Roman Christians that they belong within the sphere of Paul's apostolic commission. Paul is sent to "all the gentiles"; the Romans are "among

13. So, e.g., C.E.B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1975), I, p. 65; Käsemann, *Romans*, p. 14; Moo, *Romans*, p. 43.

14. See the comments of Dunn, *Romans*, p. 16.

15. So BDF §280; Barrett, *Romans*, p. 21.

16. A.B. du Toit, 'Persuasion in Romans 1.1-17', *BZ* 13 (1989), p. 194, claims that Paul here is using a rhetorical device called an *enthymeme*—a syllogism with one premise omitted.

the gentiles". They are thereby subject to his authority'.[17]

The letter opening of Romans provides important clues to the purpose of Paul in the letter as whole. Paul has skilfully adapted and expanded the typical form of this opening epistolary unit such that the correlate themes of gospel and apostleship are highlighted in a most effective manner. Within the space of a few short verses, Paul presents himself to his unknown readers as the divinely appointed apostle to the Gentiles who has a God-given responsibility to share with them his gospel.

2. *The Thanksgiving (1.8-15)*

a. *The Form and Function of the Pauline Thanksgiving*

A formal analysis of the Pauline thanksgiving was first undertaken by Paul Schubert, one of the earliest scholars to engage in a letter-structure approach to Paul's letters.[18] Schubert's comparative study led him to conclude that there are two basic types of thanksgiving, one being formally more complex than the other.[19] Despite the importance of Schubert's ground-breaking work and its wide-spread acceptance, his formal analysis had a couple of weaknesses. First, the two proposed formal types do not account for the structure of *all* the Pauline thanksgivings, thereby requiring Schubert to identify yet a third ('mixed') type. Secondly, Schubert focused his attention only on the initial parts of the thanksgiving section, ignoring to a large extent the relatively consistent structure and function of the concluding part.

A successful attempt to address both of these concerns has been

17. Moo, *Romans*, p. 45.

18. P. Schubert, *Form and Function of the Pauline Thanksgivings* (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1939).

19. These two types may be best presented in the following schematic fashion:

Type 1a: Complex (1 Thess.; Phil.; Col.; Phlm.)
(1) Principal Clause: εὐχαριστῶ/εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ ('I/we give thanks to God').
(2) Participial Clause(s): one, two or three participles that modify the subject (Paul and his co-writers, if any) of the principal verb; typically, the first of the participial clauses indicates time; the second indicates cause; and the third also indicates cause; the final participle typically involves a verb of hearing or of learning (ἀκούειν, μνημονεύειν, εἰδέναι and πείθεσθαι).
(3) Final Clause: a closing ἵνα-clause, ὅπως-clause or εἰς τό with the infinitive.
Type 1b: Simple (2 Thess.; 1 Cor.)
(1) Principal Clause: εὐχαριστῶ/εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ,
(2) Causal Clause: introduced by ὅτι,
(3) Consecutive Clause: introduced by ὥστε.

undertaken by L. Ann Jervis.[20] By restating and realigning the formal elements of the thanksgiving section along more functional categories, Jervis proposes that there is only one type of Pauline thanksgiving within which there may occur five distinct units:[21]

1. Principal verb: verb εὐχαριστῶ and its personal object τῷ θεῷ (μου);
2 Manner of thanksgiving: adverbial and/or participial constructions that serve to indicate the manner in which Paul gives thanks; the pronominal object phrase περὶ (ὑπὲρ) πάντων ὑμῶν typically occurs (except in Philemon);
3. Cause of thanksgiving: causal constructions in the form of phrases using ἐπί or ὅτι and/or participial clauses (usually verbs of learning or hearing) that give the reason for Paul's thanksgiving;
4. Explanation: this section, begun either with καθώς, γάρ or ὥστε, usually modifies the preceding causal unit and so serves to elaborate on the cause for Paul's thanksgiving;
5. Prayer report: a report of what Paul prays for regarding his addressees, involving the verb προσεύχομαι and a ἵνα, ὅπως or εἴ πως construction that gives the content of the prayer.

In regard to the function of the Pauline thanksgiving, Schubert concluded that this epistolary unit foreshadows the central themes and issues to be developed in the body of the letter, as well as the letter's style and character: 'Each thanksgiving not only announces clearly the subject matter of the letter, but also foreshadows unmistakably its stylistic qualities, the degree of intimacy and other important characteristics'.[22] This foreshadowing function of the Pauline thanksgivings accentuates the importance of this epistolary unit in the Romans letter. For it is here that we can expect Paul to tip his hand as to his primary purpose(s) in writing to the Roman believers.

20. Jervis, *Purpose of Romans*, pp. 86-109.

21. Jervis, *Purpose of Romans*, pp. 89-90.

22. Schubert, *Thanksgivings*, p. 77. P.T. O'Brien, *Introductory Thanksgivings in the Letters of Paul* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), p. 15, similarly states: 'We note in these periods [the thanksgiving sections] an epistolary function, i.e., to introduce and indicate the main theme(s) of the letters'.

b. *The Thanksgiving of Romans*

A formal analysis of the thanksgiving found in Rom. 1.8-15[23] indicates that this epistolary unit possesses the following structure:

1. Principal verb (v. 8a)
3. Cause of thanksgiving (v. 8b)
2. Manner of thanksgiving (vv. 9-10a)
5. Prayer report (v. 10b)
(!) Explanation of prayer report (vv. 11-15)

In comparison to the thanksgivings in Paul's other letters, the thanksgiving of Romans is distinctive in a number of ways. The first unit—the principal verb—contains two unparalleled additions: the adverbial phrase πρῶτον μέν ('first') and the prepositional phrase διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ('through Jesus Christ'). The second unit—the manner of thanksgiving—which elsewhere comes immediately after the opening expression of thanksgiving, occurs here in the third position after the cause of thanksgiving. Even more striking about this unit in Romans is the addition of the oath formula μάρτυς γάρ μού ἐστιν ὁ θεός ('For God is my witness') and the relative clause ᾧ λατρεύω ἐν τῷ πνεύματί μου ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ ('whom I serve in my spirit in the gospel of his Son'). The third unit—the cause of thanksgiving—is exceptionally brief and formal vis-à-vis the same unit in other thanksgivings. The fourth unit—the explanation of further causes for thanksgiving—technically does not occur. For though the material in vv. 11-15 is explanatory in nature, this unit does not give further causes for thanksgiving (as in all other thanksgivings) but rather provides additional rationale for the content of the prayer report. The fifth unit—the prayer report—is irregular because of its focus not on the recipients of the letter but on Paul himself. Finally, there is the unparalleled addition of a final explanatory unit (vv. 11-15) that gives further reasons for the substance of Paul's prayer. Like the prayer report, this section

23. There is some uncertainty over the extent of the thanksgiving section in Romans. The three options are: (1) 1.8-12, with the letter body beginning with the disclosure formula of 1.13; (2) 1.8-15, with the letter body beginning with the thematic statement of 1.16-17; and (3) 1.8-17, with the letter body beginning with 1.18. Although not completely free from criticism, the first option enjoys the strongest support and thus is the position followed by the majority of commentators: e.g., Käsemann, *Romans*, pp. 16-21; Dunn, *Romans*, pp. 26-36; L. Morris, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), pp. 54-65; Jervis, *Purpose of Romans*, pp. 104-107; Moo, *Romans*, pp. 50-59.

also is unique for its focus on Paul instead of his readers.

The significance of these distinctive features of the thanksgiving section in Romans should not be overlooked. For the great care with which Paul adapted and expanded the letter opening strongly suggests that these changes in the expected form and content of the thanksgiving are not fortuitous but deliberate, and thus of significance for illuminating the concerns of Paul in the letter. When one looks for a common purpose that accounts for the unique features of Rom. 1.8-15, all the evidence points to the same conclusion: Paul has skilfully adapted the thanksgiving in Romans so that this epistolary unit focuses on his divine calling as the apostle to the Gentiles to preach the gospel to the Christians in Rome. As such, the thanksgiving continues the purpose of Paul that was at work in the letter opening.

Not all the changes in the thanksgiving, of course, reflect Paul's intention equally. There is a progression in this epistolary unit, from the more subtle statements at its opening to the more explicit in its closing. The addition of the prepositional phrase διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in the first unit, for example, serves in an indirect way to highlight the apostolic role of Paul. For whereas all of the other Pauline thanksgivings open with an adverb that stresses the temporal aspect of his giving thanks ('I/we give thanks *always*'),[24] here Paul opens with a prepositional phrase that underscores his relationship to Christ ('I give thanks...*through Jesus Christ*'). That Paul is alluding to his apostolic status is supported by the fact that this prepositional phrase echoes the words of 1.5 where Paul claims that it is 'through him', that is, through Jesus Christ, that he has received his apostleship.[25]

Paul's purpose comes somewhat more clearly to the fore in the two additions to the unit that expresses the manner of thanksgiving (vv. 9-10a). Paul is not content as in his other letters merely to state that he makes remembrance of his readers in his prayers. Instead, he feels compelled to back up this claim with the oath 'God is my witness'. The apologetic function of this formula elsewhere[26] suggests that Paul in his Romans letter is concerned to defend himself against any potential criticisms his readers may have. His inability thus far to visit them in person should not be interpreted to mean that he does not care for them

24. See 1 Cor. 1.4; Phil. 1.4; 1 Thess. 1.2; 2 Thess. 1.3; Phlm. 4.

25. So Jervis, *Purpose of Romans*, p. 107 n. 3.

26. 1 Thess. 2.5; 2.10; 2 Cor. 1.23; Phil. 1.8. See also Gal. 1.20 and 2 Cor. 11.31.

or that he feels no apostolic responsibility for them. For, as the subsequent relative clause makes clear, God is a witness both to the genuineness of Paul's prayerful concern for the Roman Christians and also of Paul's apostolic calling and authority over them. Paul's concern here to assert his apostolic authority has been recognized by Gordon Wiles who notes: 'By referring in this oath to his service "in the gospel of [God's] Son" he is appealing to a central commitment and legitimization of his apostleship that the whole letter will be designed to confirm'.[27]

Paul defines his divinely appointed apostleship as activity that involves the preaching of the gospel. For in the immediate context, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον as a *nomen actionis*, is equivalent to τὸ εὐαγγελίζεσθαι.[28] Once again, we see the intimate connection between the themes of 'gospel' and 'apostleship'. Paul, therefore, stresses not only the divine source of his apostleship but also how central preaching the gospel is to that apostolic calling. In this way, Paul claims in an implicit manner what he will state explicitly at the end of the thanksgiving section: that he has a divinely appointed task as the apostle to the Gentiles to preach the gospel to those who are in Rome (1.14-15).

Paul's concern with presenting himself to the Romans and establishing his apostolic responsibility for their spiritual welfare also manifests itself in the prayer report (v. 10b). For in Paul's other thanksgivings his prayer focuses on the lives of his readers and what he petitions God to do for them.[29] Here, however, Paul's prayer concerns his own life: 'asking that somehow by the will of God I may now at last succeed in coming to you'. This unique feature of the prayer report is not simply due to Paul's lack of personal knowledge about the Roman Christians such that he did not know what to pray for them. For as ch. 16 indicates, Paul did, in fact, know personally a great number of leading Christians in Rome and thus was in a good position to be well-informed about the spiritual state of the Roman believers. Furthermore, when writing to the Colossians—a church which, like the Roman congregations, Paul neither founded nor visited (Col. 1.7; 2.1)—Paul had

27. G.P. Wiles, *Paul's Intercessory Prayers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 190.

28. Friedrich, 'εὐαγγέλιον', p. 729; O'Brien, *Introductory Thanksgivings*, p. 213.

29. See 2 Thess. 1.11-12; Phil. 1.9-11; Phlm. 6; Col. 1.9-14. There is no prayer report in the thanksgiving of 1 Thess. 1.2-10 and 1 Cor. 1.4-9.

no difficulty in the prayer report of that letter in making known his petitions concerning them (Col. 1.9-14). The self-directed focus of the prayer report in the thanksgiving of Romans, therefore, is significant and reveals the great importance that Paul places on his expressed desire to visit the believers in Rome.

The importance of this subject for Paul is confirmed by the great length at which he explains his prayer request (vv. 11-15). In this unparalleled unit within the Pauline thanksgivings,[30] the apostle makes it clear that his prayer to come to the believers in Rome is only the initial part of a larger desire or goal. That greater purpose is given in a progressive fashion in the purpose statements of the three clauses of vv. 11-12, v. 13 and vv. 14-15: 'in order that I may impart to you some spiritual blessing'; '...to have some fruit also among you as well as among the rest of the Gentiles'; and '...to preach the gospel also to you who are in Rome'. As the last of the three clauses makes clear, Paul's primary purpose in wanting to come to Rome is to preach the gospel to them.

Many have found Paul's statements in 1.11-14 to be problematic. For example, Ernst Käsemann, echoing the earlier observations of Paul Schubert, states: 'The sudden change from the stylized certainty of the prescript and the dignity of the thanksgiving to the uncertainty and embarrassment which comes to light here is hard to explain'.[31] Others, noting the seemingly indecisive nature of Paul's comments in 1.11-15 in contrast to the rather bold claims of the letter opening, account for this shift by making edifying references to Paul's modesty and humility.[32] As I hope to show, however, it is more accurate to speak of the accomplished way in which Paul progressively makes known the delicate matter of his real purpose for wanting to visit the Roman churches, namely, to preach the gospel to them.

In the first two clauses (vv. 11-12; v. 13), Paul's reason for wanting to

30. The explanatory unit of Rom. 1.11-15 differs in at least three different ways from the explanatory units typically found in Paul's thanksgivings. First, this unit in Romans provides further clarity about the content of the prayer report rather than supplemental reasons for thanksgiving. Secondly, the material of 1.11-15 is not introduced with either καθώς or ὥστε, as in other explanatory units (1 Thess. 1.5b; 2 Thess. 1.4; 1 Cor. 1.6; Phil. 1.7). Thirdly, the explanatory unit of Rom. 1.11-15 occurs *after* the prayer report, not before it as in all other thanksgivings.

31. Käsemann, *Romans*, p. 19.

32. So, e.g., Calvin; J. Murray, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1959), p. 22; Cranfield, *Epistle to the Romans*, p. 80; Morris, *Romans*, pp. 60-61.

come to Rome is obscured somewhat by the use of the indefinite pronoun: 'in order that I may impart to you *some* spiritual blessing'; 'in order that I might have *some* fruit also among you'. Not surprisingly, commentators are unsure what precisely are Paul's stated intentions in these two clauses. In the third clause (vv. 14-15), however, the indefinite pronoun disappears as Paul now candidly states his desire 'to preach the gospel also to you who are in Rome'. When the purpose statements of the first two clauses are interpreted in light of the third, then it appears that Paul's veiled references to imparting 'some spiritual gift' and having 'some fruit' among them already have in view his desire to preach the gospel to the believers in Rome.[33]

Another example of progression in the explanatory unit of 1.11-14 can be seen in Paul's references to the recipients or benefactors of his future ministry in Rome. In the first clause, Paul's coming will benefit not just the Roman Christians but Paul as well: 'that is, that we may be mutually encouraged by each other's faith, both yours and mine' (v. 12). Throughout the letter opening and the thanksgiving, Paul has been asserting his apostolic authority over the Roman Christians. Such an emphasis, although essential in getting these believers to accept his gospel, runs the concomitant risk of making Paul vulnerable to charges of egotism and being motivated solely out of self-commendation and vain praise. The assertion of mutual benefaction, therefore, defends Paul from any suggestion of an over-inflated self-esteem. What is more, it also functions to strengthen Paul's relationship with his largely unknown audience. For his statement of mutual benefaction involves a commendation of the Roman Christians: they will also be an encouragement to Paul! The aspect of mutuality—so important in the first clause—is, however, gone in the second clause where the focus is more narrowly on the Roman Christians and what blessing Paul will bring about in his ministry among them. Significantly, Paul does not yet identify the Roman Christians by name but refers to them in close connection with the other Gentiles among whom he has preached: 'that I may have some fruit also among you as among the rest of the Gentiles'. It is in the third clause that the recipients of Paul's intended ministry are finally identified as 'you who are in Rome'.

Progression in the explanatory unit can also be seen in Paul's

33. Thus Käsemann's tentative claim that the phrase 'some spiritual gift' probably refers 'to the blessing which comes *with preaching*' (*Romans*, p. 19; emphasis mine) is more accurate than he realized.

statements concerning the responsibility he claims to have for the spiritual welfare of his Roman readers. In the first clause, this obligation is not stated but implied: 'For I long to see you, that I may impart to you some spiritual gift to strengthen you' (v. 11). As A.J.M. Wedderburn notes: 'It is clear from 1.11 that Paul feels himself responsible to further the Romans' faith, whether by a personal visit or by letter, and that is evidence of his conviction that he was their apostle too and pastorally responsible for them'.[34] Paul's apostolic obligation to the Roman believers is even more strongly implied in the second clause where he states his desire to 'have some fruit also among you as among the rest of the Gentiles' (v. 13b). Paul has already claimed in the letter opening that he has received a special calling to be an apostle to the Gentiles (1.5). The inference in the second clause is thus clear: as Paul has borne fruit among the Gentiles in accordance with his divine responsibility to them, so also he wishes to have a harvest among the Roman Christians over whom he feels a similar God-given responsibility.

What has been implied in the first two clauses is now stated explicitly in the third: 'Both to the Greeks and to barbarians, both to the wise and to the foolish, I am under obligation (ὀφειλέτης εἰμί); thus, my desire is to preach the gospel also to you who are in Rome'. The logic of Paul's argumentation here echoes that observed in 1.5-6:[35]

1st premise:	'I am under divine obligation to preach the gospel among all the Gentiles' (v. 14).
2nd premise:	'You believers in Rome belong to that group of people, the Gentiles' (v. 13b; also 1.6a).
Conclusion:	'Thus, I am most eager to preach the gospel also to you believers in Rome' (v. 15).

The thanksgiving of Romans closes, therefore, not with a certain awkwardness and indecisiveness but rather with a careful and deliberate progression. In this way, Paul wards off any potential charges of either neglect or egotism while at the same time asserting his divine obligation as the apostle to the Gentiles to preach the gospel to the believers in Rome. In fact, the whole of the thanksgiving section, like the letter opening, has been skilfully adapted by Paul so that this epistolary unit emphasizes his apostolic status and the gospel that is central to that

34. A.J.M. Wedderburn, *The Reasons for Romans* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1988), p. 98.

35. See du Toit, 'Persuasion in Romans 1.1-17', p. 208.

divine calling—a gospel that he feels divinely appointed to share with the Roman Christians.[36]

Paul's eagerness to preach the gospel to those in Rome should not be interpreted to mean that he wanted to convert his readers. For Paul has already recognized in the thanksgiving the genuineness of their faith (v. 8). Neither should Paul's words be taken to imply that the Roman churches were lacking the 'authentic apostolic stamp'.[37] Instead, Paul connects his desire to preach the gospel in Rome with the goal of strengthening his readers' faith (1.11b, 'so that you may be strengthened'). As Johannes Munck has observed: 'This Gospel preaching of which Paul speaks in ch. 1 is no missionary preaching but preaching of the strengthening of a church already there'.[38] Paul apparently believed that his divine calling to be the apostle of the Gentiles obligates him to share his gospel with the Roman Christians in the conviction that their faith will be strengthened.

The fact that Paul's expressed desire to preach the gospel to the believers in Rome (1.15) is immediately followed with a bold statement of his gospel (1.16-17), which introduces the main arguments of the letter, strongly suggests that in the body of the letter he is, in fact, preaching his gospel to the Roman Christians. Since Paul cannot fulfil his divine obligation to his readers in person, he uses the letter as a substitute for his actual presence and in this way is still able to share his gospel with them. As Paul Bowers has noted: 'What Paul says he is ready to do (1.15) he proceeds, in effect, in the remainder of the letter to do: he proclaims the gospel to the Christian community in Rome (1.16ff.)'.[39] Similarly, George Smiga states: 'Having announced his desire to visit Rome, Paul then proceeds to proclaim the gospel he

36. The same conclusion is reached by Jervis (*Purpose of Romans*, p. 104): 'He [Paul] explains this desire to visit, moving cautiously from the vague to the straightforward... The thanksgiving builds towards its final statement where Paul makes clear the intention for his visit—the preaching of the gospel to the Roman believers.'

37. Against the thesis of Klein, 'Paul's Purpose in Writing', pp. 37-43.

38. J. Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind* (London: SCM Press, 1959), p. 298. Cranfield (*Epistle to the Romans*, p. 86) states of 1.15: 'εὐαγγελίζομαι is here used of preaching to those who are already believers'. Similarly, G.N. Davies (*Faith and Obedience in Romans* [JSNTSup 39; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990], p. 27) notes that 'the fruit (καρπός) of which Paul speaks in 1.13, as it relates to the Roman Christians, is the fruit of their progress in the faith, rather than the fruit of their conversion'.

39. Bowers, 'Fulfilling the Gospel', p. 196.

proposed to preach in person through the diminished form of his apostolic presence which the letter can provide, so that the effect of that gospel might also be realized in a preliminary way'.[40] The thanksgiving, therefore, like the letter opening, plays a vital role in establishing the authority of both Paul's apostleship and his gospel so that the preaching of his gospel in the body of the letter will be accepted and the faith of his readers will be strengthened.

3. *The Apostolic Parousia (15.14-32)*

a. *The Form and Function of the Apostolic Parousia*

The apostolic parousia was first identified and defined by Robert Funk, who observed that Paul frequently attempts to make his presence felt among his readers in a more authoritative way by referring either to the writing of the letter itself, to his emissary or his future visit.[41] Using Rom. 15.14-33 as his model, Funk proposed that the apostolic parousia typically consists of five major units.[42] Funk's conclusions recently have been modified by Ann Jervis, who proposes that the apostolic parousia consists of three major units with various sub-units.[43] The difficulty with

40. G. Smiga, 'Romans 12.1-2 and 15.30-32 and the Occasion of the Letter to the Romans', *CBQ* 53 (1991), p. 260. Note also the statements by Jervis, *Purpose of Romans*, p. 129 ('We may then surmise that since the purpose Paul expresses for his visit in the thanksgiving is to preach the gospel to the Roman Christians (1.15), and since Paul cannot now be present and so must use the letter as his surrogate, in Romans Paul is preaching the gospel') and Elliott, *Rhetoric of Romans*, p. 84 ('The letter is directed to perform the very function that Paul would have performed in person had he not been 'hindered', namely, the 'evangelization' of the Romans').

41. R. Funk, 'The Apostolic *Parousia*: Form and Significance', in W.R. Farmer, C.F.D. Moule and R.R Niebuhr, (eds.), *Christian History and Interpretation: Studies Presented to John Knox* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 249-68. See especially his summary statements on pp. 249, 266.

42. Funk, 'Apostolic *Parousia*', pp. 252-53. The five units may be summarized as follows:

1. reference to Paul's letter-writing activity, his disposition and purpose
2. reference to Paul's relationship with his letter recipients
3. reference to plans for paying a visit (desire to visit, delays in coming, sending of an emissary, announcement of visit)
4. invocation of divine approval and support for the visit
5. benefits of the impending visit

43. Jervis, *Purpose of Romans*, pp. 112-14. Her formal analysis may be summarized as follows:

the formal analyses offered by Funk and Jervis is that the parallels between the various apostolic parousias are not great enough to warrant the identification of specific units and sub-units. It would seem better to speak of the apostolic parousia as a distinct epistolary convention that exhibits a rather loose form or structure in which certain words or expressions are often found. This means that, in contrast to a comparative analysis of the more formally consistent sections of Paul's letters (the opening, thanksgiving and closing), less significance can be attached to any variations in form between the various apostolic parousias.

The apostolic parousia has an important function in the letter. For Paul is not simply informing his readers about his future travel plans so as to satisfy their curiosity or to provide details about himself for their general interest. Rather, this epistolary convention serves as an effective literary device by which Paul can exert his apostolic authority and power over his letter recipients. This should not be interpreted as a power-hungry, ego trip by Paul but as a pragmatic means to place his readers under his apostolic authority such that they will accept and obey the contents of the letter.

b. *The Apostolic Parousia of Romans*

There are a number of striking verbal and thematic connections between the apostolic parousia (15.14-32) and the first two units of the epistolary framework of Romans, the opening (1.1-7) and especially the thanksgiving (1.8-15).[44]

1. Letter Writing Unit
   (a) Manner: use of verb γράφω and expression of the manner in which Paul writes
   (b) Authority: an explicit or implied reference to Paul's authority
   (c) Appeal: an appeal to obey Paul's teaching
2. Sending of Emissary Unit
   (a) Reference to Sending: use of verb πέμπω and reference to person being sent
   (b) Credentials: credentials of emissary
   (c) Expectation: expected task of the emissary
3. Apostolic Visit Unit
   (a) Intention/Desire: Paul states his intention to visit the letter recipients
   (b) Submission: Paul's submission to God's will regarding intended visit
   (c) Hindrances: reason(s) for past inability to visit
   (d) Love/Concern: expression of love or concern for the readers
   (e) Purpose: reason for the projected visit

44. I am indebted here to the observations of Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, p. 857, and du Toit, 'Persuasion in Romans', pp. 199-200.

Verbal/Thematic Link	*Opening/Thanksgiving*	*Apostolic Parousia*
1. Praise of the Roman Christians	1.8 (see also 1.7)	15.14
2. Paul's Apostleship		
(a) An act of grace	1.5 (χάρις)	15.15 (χάρις δοθεῖσα)
(b) Its 'service' character	1.9 ('whom I serve')	15.15 ('in the priestly service')
(c) Directed to the Gentiles	1.5, 13 (τὰ ἔθνη)	15.16, 27 (τὰ ἔθνη)
	1.14 ("Ελλησές τε καὶ Βάρβαροι)	
(d) To win obedience	1.5 (εἰς ὑπακοήν)	15.18 (εἰς ὑπακοήν)
3. Paul's Gospel		
(a) References to the gospel	1.1, 9, 15	15.16, 19, 20
(b) His service to the gospel	1.9 (εὐαγγέλιον)	15.16 (εὐαγγέλιον)
(c) His task to preach the gospel	1.15 (οὕτως ... εὐαγγελίζομαι)	15.20 (οὕτως ... εὐαγγελίζεσθαι) 15.19 (πεπληρωκέναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον)
4. Visit to the Christians in Rome		
(a) Desire/intention to come	1.10, 11, 13, 15	15.22, 23, 24, 29, 32
(b) Inability to come	1.10 (implied); 1.11	15.22
(c) Submissive to God's will	1.10 (θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ)	15.32 (θέλημα θεοῦ)
(d) Expectation of mutual benefit	1.12	15.23-24, 28–29, 32
5. Obligation	1.14 (ὀφειλέτης εἰμί)	15.25-27 (ὀφείλω [2×])
6. Reference to praying	1.9-10 (Paul)	15.30-32 (Romans)

These impressive parallels suggest that the same purpose is at work in the apostolic parousia as in the opening sections of the letter, that is, to win the acceptance of Paul and his gospel among the believers in Rome. That this indeed is the case seems confirmed by the fact that the connected themes of 'gospel' and 'apostleship', which play such a central role in the letter opening and thanksgiving, are also clearly emphasized in the apostolic parousia.

After opening with a strategically placed confidence formula,[45] Paul

45. The confidence formula is a relatively common epistolary convention which

makes the clearest statement in the letter regarding his purpose in writing: 'But on some points I have written to you very boldly by way of reminder, because of the grace given me by God to be a minister of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles in the priestly service of the gospel of God, so that the offering of the Gentiles may be acceptable, sanctified by the Holy Spirit' (15.15-16). What Paul has been claiming in a somewhat veiled way in the letter opening and thanksgiving is now stated explicitly. For here he directly connects what he has written to the Roman Christians in the body of the letter with his apostolic responsibility to preach the gospel to the Gentiles. Paul claims that he has received grace from God to be a minister of Christ Jesus—a claim to authority that echoes his assertion of apostleship in the letter opening (1.5, 'through whom we have received grace and apostleship'). This authoritative ministry is directed to the Gentiles (τὰ ἔθνη is used twice in v. 16) and involves a service 'of the gospel of God'. Therefore, Paul's action of boldly preaching his gospel in the body of the letter should be viewed by the Roman Christians as a fulfilment of his God-given responsibility to the Gentiles.

Paul continues to underscore the authoritative character of his relationship with the Roman Christians by means of an expression of self-confidence: 'I have, then, boasting in Christ Jesus with reference to the things of God' (15.17). Although Paul prudently locates his boasting 'in Christ Jesus', it is nevertheless clear that he is commending himself and his apostolic ministry to his readers.[46] The same purpose is at work in the following sentence (15.18-21) in a number of ways. First, Paul states his unwillingness to speak of anything 'except what Christ has wrought through me to win the obedience of the Gentiles'. While humbly recognizing his role as merely the vehicle through whom Christ has worked, Paul simultaneously emphasizes his authoritative status. For it is now clear to the Roman Christians that it is *through Paul* (δι' ἐμοῦ) that Christ is working to bring about obedience from the Gentiles. Consequently, they should accept him and his gospel as having divine authority.

A second means by which Paul commends himself and his gospel to

functions to reinforce a letter's request(s) by creating a sense of obligation through praise. See S.N. Olson, 'Pauline Expressions of Confidence in his Addressees', *CBQ* 47 (1985), pp. 282-95.

46. So S.N. Olson, 'Epistolary Uses of Expression of Self-Confidence', *JBL* 103/4 (1984), p. 596; Jervis, *Purpose of Romans*, p. 122.

the Roman Christians is by drawing attention to those signs that have accompanied his preaching ministry: 'in the power of signs and wonders, in the power of the Holy Spirit'. The divine source of Paul's apostleship and the genuineness of his gospel have been validated by the signs and wonders that Christ has worked through him.

The third way in which Paul seeks to win the confidence of his readers is by drawing attention to the effective results of his gospel: 'so that from Jerusalem and as far round as Illyricum I have fulfilled the gospel of Christ'. This verse 'does not mean that Paul has concluded his missionary work, but that the Gospel is fulfilled when it has taken full effect. In the preaching of Paul Christ has shown Himself effective'.[47] Paul's success in making the gospel effective in Gentile churches around the Mediterranean testifies to the power and legitimacy of his gospel. This proven 'track record' of the effectiveness of Paul's gospel places further pressure on the Roman Christians to accept his gospel as it has been boldly conveyed to them in the body of the letter.

Paul's statements in the second part of the apostolic parousia (15.22-32) have provided fertile ground for alternate theories about the purpose of Romans: that he is writing to believers in Rome either to obtain their support for his future missionary activity in Spain or to gain some advantage in regard to his upcoming trip to Jerusalem. These references to Spain and Jerusalem, however, explain further Paul's failure thus far to fulfil in person his apostolic obligations to the believers in Rome.[48] Furthermore, Paul's remarks about the collection to be delivered to Jerusalem can also function as providing more evidence to the Roman Christians of the success of Paul's gospel. For the financial support that Paul has won from the churches in Macedonia and Achaia is tangible proof that these believers have recognized the authority of Paul's apostleship and his gospel.

One final matter in the apostolic parousia needs to be addressed: Paul's statements that he wants to come to Rome to 'be refreshed' (15.32) and 'helped' (15.24) on his journey to Spain. These statements seemingly conflict with Paul's claim in the thanksgiving section that he wants to come to Rome in order to preach the gospel to believers there (1.15). This shift has been interpreted by some commentators as evidence that Paul's purpose in writing Romans does not lie in the Roman

47. Friedrich, 'εὐαγγέλιον', p. 732.

48. So K.P. Donfried, 'A Short Note on Romans 16', in Donfried (ed.), *The Romans Debate*, p. 51; Jervis, *Purpose of Romans*, pp. 125-26.

believers themselves but that he is only using them for some other ultimate goal.

Such a conclusion, however, is negated by the fact that the letter opening, thanksgiving and apostolic parousia have been focused on Paul's divine calling to preach the gospel *to the Roman Christians* and not to some distant community in the east (Jerusalem) or west (Spain). A better explanation for the difference in the stated reasons for coming to Rome has been put forward by Neil Elliott, who proposes that Paul's statements in 1.15 and 15.24 do not refer to the same trip:

> Rom. 1.15 describes the visit that Paul would like to have made, *but cannot*; Rom. 15.24 refers to the visit that he *will* be able to make after delivering the collection to Jerusalem (15.25-29). 'Evangelizing' the Romans is absent from Paul's future plans, not because that was never really his intention, but because that intention *has been achieved* between chs. 1 and 15, that is, *by the letter itself*.[49]

In other words, Paul's stated purpose in the thanksgiving section—to preach the gospel to the Roman Christians—has already been fulfilled in the body of the letter. This means that the references to the future stopover for refreshment (15.32) and help (15.24) do not conflict with the purpose at work in the letter as a whole, that is, Paul's desire to share his gospel with the believers in Rome. Instead, the apostolic parousia reinforces this very purpose. For Paul uses this epistolary convention to make his presence and authority experienced among the Roman believers in such a powerful way that he ensures their acceptance of the gospel that he has written rather boldly about in the body of the letter.

4. *The Letter Closing (15.33–16.27)*

a. *The Form and Function of the Pauline Letter Closing*

At first glance, Paul's letter closings may appear to have a rather simple form and structure, consisting of some final remarks thrown together in a somewhat loose and disorderly fashion. A detailed study of these final sections, however, reveals that they contain several epistolary conventions, all of which exhibit a high degree of formal and structural consistency, thereby testifying to the care with which these final sections have been constructed.[50] The pattern of a typical Pauline letter closing is as follows:

49. Elliott, *Rhetoric of Romans*, p. 87 (his emphasis).

50. See J.A.D. Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings* (JSNTSup 101; Sheffield: JSOT Press: 1994).

1. Peace benediction
2. Hortatory section (can also come before a peace benediction)
3. Greetings
   3a. Greetings (first, second, or third-person types)
   3b. Kiss greeting
   3c. Autograph greeting
4. Grace benediction

The closings of Paul's letters also contain other epistolary conventions, such as a doxology (Rom. 16.25-27; Phil. 4.20; 2 Tim. 4.18),[51] joy expression (Rom. 16.19a; 1 Cor. 16.17; Phil. 4.10-20),[52] a letter of commendation (Rom. 16.1-2) and a postscript (1 Cor. 16.24). But these items do not constitute a regular feature of his letter closings.

There has been a widespread tendency among scholars to treat the Pauline letter closings as a mere formal abstraction, functioning simply as a means for Paul to maintain contact with the recipients of the letter. Although this is surely part of its intended purpose, it misses the more important role that the closing section plays in relation to the rest of the letter. For a careful study of the letter closings reveals that Paul commonly shapes and adapts this epistolary unit in such a way that it relates directly to—sometimes, in fact, even summarizes—the major concerns and themes taken up in the bodies of their respective letters. Thus the letter closing functions a lot like the thanksgiving, but in reverse. For as the thanksgiving foreshadows and points ahead to the major concerns to be addressed in the body of the letter, so the closing serves to highlight and encapsulate the main points previously taken up in the body.[53] This recapitulating function of Paul's letter closings suggests that the letter closing of Romans is likewise significant for revealing the central concern(s) of Paul at work in the rest of the letter.

51. See also Heb. 13.21b; 1 Pet. 5.11; 2 Pet. 3.18 and Jude 24-25. For the presence of a doxology within the body of a letter, see Rom. 11.36; Gal. 1.5; Eph. 3.20-21; 1 Tim. 1.17; 6.16; 1 Pet. 4.11; Rev. 1.5b-6; 5.13b; 7.12.

52. A joy expression within the letter body occurs in Phlm. 7, 2 John 4 and 3 John 3.

53. In addition to my *Neglected Endings*, ch. 5, see my two recent articles: 'Gal. 6.11-18: A Hermeneutical Key to the Galatian Letter', *Calvin Theological Journal* 28 (1993), pp. 90-107; and 'The Pauline Letter Closings: Analysis and Hermeneutical Significance', *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 4 (1994) forthcoming.

b. *The Letter Closing of Romans*

Romans 15.33–16.27[54] contains all the epistolary conventions typically found in the letter closings of Paul's letters, plus some additional closing forms. As a result, the letter closing of Romans is the longest final section in Paul's extant letters. An outline of the formal features of the Romans letter closing is as follows:

1. Peace benediction (15.33)
(!) Letter of commendation (16.1-2)
3. First greeting list (16.3-16)
    3a. Second-person greetings (vv. 3-15)
    3b. Kiss greeting (v. 16a)
    3a. Third-person greeting (v. 16b)
2. Hortatory (autograph)[55] section (16.17-20a)
    (!) Appeal formula/παρακαλέω unit (vv. 17-18)
    (!) Joy expression (v. 19a)
    (!) General paraenetic command (v. 19b)
    (!) Peace benediction (v. 20a)
4. Grace Benediction (16.20b)
3. Second (Non-Autograph) Greeting List (16.21-23)
(!) Doxology (16.25-27)

When the letter closing of Romans is compared to the closings of Paul's other letters, several unique features become immediately apparent. In

54. The issues regarding the authenticity of the final chapter of Romans are well-known and need not be restated here. What is important to note, however, is the recent consensus that ch. 16 is an original and integral part of Paul's letter to the Romans. Wedderburn (*Reasons for Romans*, p. 13), for example, observes that 'the pendulum of scholarly opinion now seems to have swung back towards the view that this chapter was part of the letter to Rome'. Donfried (*The Romans Debate*, p. lxx) likewise observes: 'An especially significant shift has occurred with regard to the understanding of Romans 16, which is now viewed by the majority as being an integral part of Paul's original letter'.

55. That the hortatory section (16.17-20a) constitutes an autograph is suggested by two factors. First, it would explain the somewhat sudden shift in these verses to a harsher tone. Secondly, it would parallel Paul's practice elsewhere of giving a closing warning in his own hand (Gal. 6.11-18; 1 Cor. 16.22). Others who believe the material of 16.17-20a to be written in Paul's own hand include H. Lietzmann, *An die Römer* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1906, 1933 [4th edn]), pp. 121-22; K.H. Schelke, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Freiburg: Herder & Herder, 1964), p. 262; Wiles, *Paul's Intercessory Prayers*, p. 93; Morris, *Romans*, p. 538; Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, pp. 902, 906.

addition to its length, the Romans letter closing is distinctive because of its inclusion of two peace benedictions (15.33; 16.20a), a letter of commendation (16.1-2), the two greetings lists (16.3-16, 21-23) and a doxology (16.25-27). Other striking features of the Romans letter closing include the excessive length (17 greetings mentioning no less than 26 people!) and laudatory character of the first greeting list (16.3-16), as well as the length and more formally complex composition (presence of joy expression, general paraenetic command, and peace benediction in addition to the appeal formula) of the hortatory section (16.17-20a). These distinctive features are completely understandable in light of the unique formal features observed in the letter opening, thanksgiving, and apostolic parousia. For as Paul adapted these epistolary units to ensure the acceptance of his apostleship and his gospel by the Christians at Rome, so he has also shaped the letter closing to further this same concern.

This can be seen, for example, in the two greeting lists (16.3-16, 21-23). The greetings of the first list are highlighted by virtue of the list's position (it comes in the first and therefore the emphatic position) and size (17 greetings in the first list compared to four greetings in the second). Another unique feature of the first greeting list is the presence of second-person greetings—a type not normally used in Paul's other letter closings.[56] The most distinctive aspect of the first greeting list, however, is the strong commendatory manner in which those being greeted are described—a feature not found in any of the other greetings of Paul. The laudatory character of the greetings is often accomplished by means of a term of endearment or praise: 'my beloved' (16.5b; 16.8; 16.9; 16.12b), 'esteemed in Christ' (16.10a), 'chosen in the Lord' (16.13), 'in Christ (Jesus)' (16.3; 16.7; 16.9; 16.10), and 'in the Lord' (16.8; 16.11; 16.12 [2x]; 16.13). The laudatory aspect of the greetings is frequently emphasized further by means of a relative clause: 'who risked their necks for my life' (16.4a), 'to whom not only I but also all the churches of the Gentiles give thanks' (16.4b), 'who is the first convert of Asia for Christ' (16.5b), 'who has worked hard among you' (16.6), 'who are outstanding among the apostles' (16.7b), 'who also were in Christ before me' (16.7c), and 'who has worked hard in the Lord' (16.12b).

The reason why Paul includes such terms of endearment/praise and

56. Other than the stereotyped kiss greeting formula, the second-person type of greeting occurs only once elsewhere in Paul's letter closings (Phil. 4.21a).

the relative clauses with the greetings is obviously not to help the Roman church identify the persons being greeted, for such persons would have been well-known to the Christian community. Rather, as their laudatory content makes clear, Paul added these terms of endearment/praise and the relative clauses in order to give the greetings a strong commendatory function. Furthermore, these additions emphasize the close relations that existed between the persons being greeted/praised and Paul.[57] Consequently, Paul builds up his own standing in the Roman churches not by merely greeting specific persons in the congregations in a commendatory fashion, but by also associating himself so closely with such persons that he himself shares in the commendations that they receive.[58]

That Paul intended the greetings to commend himself more fully to the Roman Christians can also be seen in the order in which he greets specific individuals and in the corresponding nature of the descriptions he gives.[59] The first persons greeted are Prisca and Aquila with whom he claimed a missionary partnership (16.3, 'my fellow workers') and whose prominence among 'all the churches of the Gentiles' (16.4) placed them in an excellent position to testify to Christians at Rome about Paul's apostleship and the successful impact his gospel has had among the Gentiles. The second person greeted is Epaenetus who, as 'the first convert in Asia' (16.5b), is a living witness to the effectiveness and power of Paul's gospel. Similarly, the identification of Andronicus and Junia(s) early in the greeting list as 'those who are outstanding among the apostles' (16.7) also makes them good character references for the legitimacy of Paul's own apostolic status and his gospel.

The final greeting of this first long list is also significant: 'All the churches of Christ greet you' (16.16b). For nowhere else does Paul speak so broadly ('all the churches') in passing on the greetings of others. So here, it seems, Paul presents himself to the Roman Christians

57. Käsemann (*Commentary on Romans*, p. 412) comments: 'Paul is clearly concerned to underscore his personal tie with as many as possible'.

58. Gamble (*Textual History*, p. 92) states: 'It is especially striking how, in the descriptive phrases, a heavy emphasis is placed on the relationship between the individuals mentioned and Paul himself. He ties them to himself, and himself to them. From these features it can be seen that Paul's commendatory greetings to specific individuals serve to place those individuals in a position of respect vis-à-vis the community, but also, by linking the Apostle so closely to them, place Paul in the same position.'

59. See Jervis, *Purpose of Romans*, pp. 151-52.

as one who has the official backing of all the churches in Achaia, Macedonia, Asia, Galatia, Syria and elsewhere in the eastern part of the empire.[60] Furthermore, their support demonstrates that his gospel has a proven track record among believers throughout the Mediterranean world. Consequently, there is in this greeting an implied challenge for believers in Rome to join these other churches in recognizing the authority of Paul's apostleship and his gospel.

It should now be clear that the greetings of 16.3-16, rather than creating a problem for the textual integrity of Romans (as many scholars have claimed), are entirely appropriate to the purpose of Paul that is evident throughout the rest of the letter. Paul has constructed his closing greetings in such a way that they further establish his apostolic authority over the Roman churches and guarantee their acceptance of his gospel.

Two other distinctive features of the Romans letter closing, namely, the letter of commendation and the hortatory section, should undoubtedly be seen as fitting into this overall purpose of Paul as well. The first—Paul's commendation of Phoebe and her acceptance by the Christians at Rome—involves in some sense their acceptance of Paul, for she is his representative and likely the bearer of his letter to them. So the commendation of Phoebe (16.1-2) implicitly contributes to Paul's goal of establishing his authority over the churches at Rome. Furthermore, if Phoebe was a wealthy member of the upper-class, her support of Paul might further impress upon the Roman Christians the success of his gospel.[61]

The second—the hortatory section (16.17-20a)—also contributes to this cause. These verses, of course, are often understood as a rebuke of the Roman Christians by Paul, which interrupts rather awkwardly the greetings of vv. 3-16 and those of vv. 21-23. But such an interpretation is entirely unjustified, for Paul in this section actually speaks rather positively of the believers at Rome as he continues to strengthen his relations with them. In this παρακαλέω unit, in fact, he (1) refers affectionately to his readers as 'brothers', (2) affirms that they have

60. Dunn (*Romans 1–8*, p. 899) states: 'The greeting thus has a "political" overtone: Paul speaks for all these churches, and they are behind him in his mission'.

61. On the financial and social status of Phoebe, see R. Jewett, 'Paul, Phoebe, and the Spanish Mission', in J. Neusner, E.S. Frerichs, P. Borgen, and R. Horsley (eds.), *The Social World of Formative Christianity and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), pp. 148-55; also C.F. Whelan, 'Amica Pauli: The Role of Phoebe in the Early Church', *JSNT* 49 (1993), pp. 67-85.

learned proper teaching (v. 17), and (3) places them in an entirely different category from those divisive persons 'who do not serve our Lord Christ but their own selfish desires' (v. 18). Paul then inserts a joy expression that praises the Roman Christians for the fact that 'your obedience is known to all' (v. 19a), which is followed by a general and uncritical command that they be 'wise in regard to what is good and innocent in regard to what is bad' (v. 19b).

The hortatory section concludes with a peace benediction that promises that 'the God of peace will crush Satan under your feet speedily' (v. 20a). Unlike Paul's other peace benedictions that describe what God will do to his readers, the peace benediction here describes what God will do to Satan by means of the believers at Rome. This shift in focus to God's use of the Roman Christians in carrying out the wish should probably also be interpreted as another deliberate attempt on Paul's part to build his relations with Christians at Rome.[62]

Another unique feature of the Roman letter closing is the presence of a doxology (16.25-27). This passage, of course, is widely viewed as a secondary addition. Nevertheless, there are some scholars who still defend the authenticity of this passage on the grounds that its language, style, and themes are consistent with the rest of the letter.[63] Additional support for the authenticity of the doxology may also lie in its summary character. For a study of the Pauline letter closings has demonstrated that he frequently adapts and shapes his inherited closing conventions so that they better reflect the key issues discussed earlier in the letter.[64] It would not, therefore, be beyond Paul's ability or practice to take a

62. So Jervis, *Purpose of Romans*, p. 154.

63. See esp. L.W. Hurtado, 'The Doxology at the End of Romans', in E.J. Epp and G.D. Fee (eds.), *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 273-77. Also F.J.A. Hort, 'On the End of the Epistle to the Romans', in J.B. Lightfoot (ed.), *Biblical Essays* (London: Macmillan, 1893), pp. 324-28; G.H. Parke-Taylor, 'A Note on εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως in Romans 1.5 and xvi:26', *ExpTim* 55 (1943–44), p. 306; Murray, *Romans*, pp. 262-68; Shelkle, *Romans*, pp. 264-67; W. Schmidt, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Römer* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1972), pp. 265-66; P. Minear, *The Obedience of Faith: The Purposes of Paul in the Epistle to the Romans* (London: SCM Press, 1971), pp. 30-31; Moo, *Romans*, p. 9; D.B. Garlington, 'The Obedience of Faith in the Letter to the Romans. Part I: The Meaning of ὑπακοὴ πίστεως (Rom 1.5; 16.26)', *WTJ* 52 (1990), p. 201 n. 1.

64. See the sources cited above in n. 53.

conventional doxology and to expand it in such a manner as to echo the central purpose(s) of his Romans letter.

The doxology is, in fact, especially striking for the way in which it recapitulates the concern of Paul evident in the epistolary framework of the letter. The reference to '*my* gospel' recalls well Paul's concern in the letter opening, thanksgiving, apostolic parousia and the letter body to share his gospel with the Roman believers. The doxology claims that Paul's gospel will be used by God 'to strengthen' (στηρίξαι) the believers in Rome—the same point that was made in the thanksgiving section (1.11, 'in order that you may be strengthened'; στηριχθῆναι). The doxology further highlights the continuity of Paul's gospel with the message of the Old Testament—a matter also stressed in the letter opening (1.2-4). More specifically, the phrase 'through the prophetic writings' (16.26, διὰ γραφῶν προφητικῶν) is a deliberate allusion to the opening words of the letter, 'through his prophets in the holy writings' (1.2, διὰ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν γραφαῖς ἁγίαις). The goal or purpose of making the mystery of the gospel known is 'to bring about the obedience of faith for all the Gentiles' (16.26, εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη). This phrase from the doxology provides yet another direct verbal link with the letter opening: 'to bring about the obedience of faith for all the Gentiles' (1.5, εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν). It also recalls Paul's point in the apostolic parousia that Christ is working through him 'to bring about the obedience of the Gentiles' (15.18, εἰς ὑπακοὴν ἐθνῶν). The strong recapitulating character of the doxology serves as yet a further means by which Paul seeks to establish the authority and acceptability of his gospel among the Roman believers.

The letter closing of Romans provides compelling evidence that this final epistolary unit has been deliberately constructed to support Paul's overall purpose in the writing of this letter. For just as Paul carefully adapts the epistolary conventions in the opening, thanksgiving and apostolic parousia of the Roman letter in order to win the acceptance of his apostleship and gospel by the Roman churches, so also the closing has been carefully constructed to accomplish the same goal. This is most clearly seen in the lengthy greeting list of 16.3-16, but it is also evident in the letter of commendation, the hortatory section and, if authentic, the doxology.

5. *Conclusion*

The epistolary framework of Romans provides a consistent and convincing picture of Paul's purpose in the writing of this letter. For the letter opening, thanksgiving, apostolic parousia and letter closing establish the authority of Paul's apostleship and his gospel over the Roman Christians in a way that wins their acceptance of his gospel as it has been preached in the body of the letter. This conclusion does not imply that there are no other historical or theological issues that Paul wants to address in his letter. In fact, the body of the letter indicates that there are several Jewish–Gentile issues at work in the Roman churches. Nevertheless, the evidence provided by the epistolary framework of the letter indicates that Paul's overriding concern is to preach the gospel to the Roman Christians. As the apostle to the Gentiles, Paul felt not only divinely obligated but also uniquely qualified to share with the believers in Rome his gospel in the conviction that this preaching ministry among them, accomplished through the letter, would result in the strengthening of their faith. All other proposed purposes for the writing of Romans, therefore, must be integrated into Paul's overriding concern 'to preach the gospel also to you who are in Rome' (1.15).

HOW NEW WAS PAUL'S GOSPEL? THE PROBLEM OF CONTINUITY AND DISCONTINUITY

James D.G. Dunn

One of the major issues which has resurfaced in current discussions of Pauline theology is the question of his gospel's newness. Was Paul's gospel in the last analysis simply a re-expression of God's centuries old summons to Israel? Or did it constitute a decisive break with everything that had gone before? The first question suggests what might be called a *heilsgeschichtlich* perspective, where the emphasis is on the line of continuity from Abraham, through Moses, David and the prophets, climaxing in Jesus, and on to Paul—alternatively expressed, the line of promise and fulfilment. In contrast, the second question suggests more of an *apocalyptic* perspective, where the emphasis is on discontinuity between the old and the new, the disruption caused by the inbreaking of the eschatological, the new creation.

The issue has come to focus in recent years as a consequence of two fresh or revitalized tendencies in twentieth-century Pauline discussion clashing with each other. One is the fairly recent reaction against the typical emphasis of Lutheran theology which poses gospel and law, and so also Christianity and Judaism, in sharp antithesis. Where this emphasis has been given determinative hermeneutical weight the almost inescapable inference has been one of discontinuity between the gospel of Paul and what went before. 'The new perspective on Paul',[1] however, has resulted in a reassessment of Paul's relation with his

1. This was my own attempt to characterize the impact of the work of E.P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (London: SCM Press, 1977), in a lecture under the same title, *BJRL* 65 (1983), pp. 95-122, slightly revised in my *Jesus, Paul and the Law: Studies in Mark and Galatians* (London: SPCK; Louisville: Westminster Press, 1990), pp. 183-206 (additional notes pp. 206-14).

heritage (as then expressed in Second Temple Judaism), with counter emphasis on the continuity between the two.[2]

The other tendency is also a reaction, in this case against the de-apocalypticizing of Paul's gospel. The apocalyptic/eschatological[3] revolution in NT studies at the turn of the century made its most characteristic impact on Pauline studies in works by A. Fridrichsen and E. Käsemann.[4] But the dominant mood seems to have favoured a downplaying of the apocalyptic/eschatological in favour of an emphasis on 'realized eschatology' or 'fulfilled messianism'.[5] The reaction in this case has been led by J.C. Beker in his assertion that apocalyptic provides the coherent theme of Paul's gospel, translated as it is into the contingent particularities of different human situations.[6] Here, in contrast to the first, the tendency has been to emphasize the discontinuities of the new age which breaks in upon and supersedes the old.

The clash of the two tendencies has been a feature of current discussion on Pauline theology. Representative of the *heilsgeschichtlich* perspective are R.B. Hays and N.T. Wright,[7] who both emphasize the

2. See, e.g., my *The Partings of the Ways between Christianity and Judaism* (London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1991), with bibliography.

3. The terms have usually, and regrettably, been used interchangeably. I use 'apocalyptic' in the customary sense of most discussions—that is, as embracing the differentiations between 'apocalypse', 'apocalyptic ideas' and 'apocalypticism' which a more analytical discussion would require. See, e.g., J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1984), ch. 1.

4. A. Fridrichsen, *The Apostle and his Message* (Uppsala: Lundequistska, 1947); E. Käsemann, 'Primitive Christian Apocalyptic', *New Testament Questions of Today* (London: SCM Press, 1969), pp. 108-37 (esp. pp. 131-37).

5. See, e.g., J.A. Fitzmyer, *Paul and his Theology: A Brief Sketch* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice–Hall, 1989), pp. 46-49; R.N. Longenecker, 'The Nature of Paul's Early Eschatology', *NTS* 31 (1985), pp. 85-95, who draws the phrase 'Fulfilled Messianism' from W.D. Davies (p. 86).

6. J.C. Beker, *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980).

7. R.B. Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ: An Investigation of the Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3.1–4.11* (SBLDS 56; Chico, CA: Scholars, 1983); also 'Salvation History: The Theological Structure of Paul's Thought (1 Thessalonians, Philippians and Galatians)', in J. Bassler (ed.), *Pauline Theology.* I. *Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, Philemon*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991) pp. 227-46; N.T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1991).

ongoing story of Israel as underlying Paul's teaching. Representative of the apocalyptic perspective are J.L. Martyn, with his emphasis on the 'apocalyptic antinomies in Paul's letter to the Galatians',[8] and J. Bassler who in a recent paper argues that the resurrection of Jesus was for Paul 'an apocalyptic event marking the end of the old age and thus the end of the religious structures that defined the old age'.[9]

The issue is important since on it largely hangs, on the one hand, our understanding of the necessity and character of the Christ event, particularly the cross and resurrection, and on the other, the relation of Christianity to Israel and the religion of the OT. And since these questions have been close to the centre of Richard Longenecker's concerns in NT scholarship, from his original and too much neglected *Paul, Apostle of Liberty*,[10] to his excellent commentary on *Galatians*,[11] it would seem that the issue is one appropriate for an essay written in his honour.

We begin, naturally, by sketching out the two strands in Paul's statements of his gospel, which seem to be thus pulling in different directions, before going on to investigate whether, and if so how, the two strands can be held together in a single integrated understanding of Paul's theology and gospel. Not surprisingly the issue comes to sharpest focus in Paul's letters to the Galatians and to the Romans.

1. *The Continuity of the Gospel*

In many ways this is much the more obvious feature of Paul's gospel, so that it comes as something of a surprise that it should be put under such question. The point can be readily demonstrated even if we maintain quite a narrow focus on the theme of 'gospel' itself.

First, we should note that the term 'gospel' contains in itself an implication of continuity with and fulfilment of earlier hopes. In the debate between Strecker and Stuhlmacher the former has argued that

8. J.L. Martyn, 'Apocalyptic Antinomies in Paul's Letter to the Galatians', *NTS* 31 (1985), pp. 410-24. See also his 'Events in Galatia: Modified Covenantal Nomism versus God's Invasion of the Cosmos in the Singular Gospel', in Bassler, *Pauline Theology*, I, pp. 160-79.

9. J. Bassler, 'The Theology of Rom. 1.18–4.25. A Response to Andrew T. Lincoln', seminar paper at the Theology of Paul's Letters Group at the Society of Biblical Literature annual meeting, at Washington, DC, in November 1993.

10. (New York: Harper & Row, 1964).

11. (WBC 41; Dallas: Word, 1990).

the term was in effect drawn from the usage in the Caesar cult.[12] Were that the case the inference would be that the first Christian 'gospel', properly speaking, was a consequence of the confrontation between the new faith in Jesus and a prominent form of civic religion as the former spread into the wider hellenistic world. The line of discontinuity would be clear. But Stuhlmacher provides the stronger line of argument[13] when he maintains that the term in earliest Christian thought and reflection was derived from Jesus' own use of Isa. 61.1-2 (Mt. 11.5/ Lk. 7.22; Lk. 4.18; Acts 10.36; cf. Lk. 6.20-21/Mt. 5.3-4), a passage which evidently influenced other strands of second Temple Judaism (*Pss. Sol.* 11.1; 1QH 18.14; 11QMelch 18). It is true that the coining of a singular noun usage ('the gospel') to describe the message about Jesus was itself a new step, but the fact that it was just this word which was chosen clearly reflects an early Christian conviction that their message about Jesus was in fulfilment of and a direct development from the older Isaianic hope of Israel's restoration.

Secondly, it is equally clear from Rom. 1.16-17 and Gal. 2.14-16 that the content of the gospel, or as Paul puts it in the latter passage, 'the truth of the gospel', comes to particular focus in 'the righteousness of God from/to faith' (Rom. 1.17), or, alternatively expressed, in a person's being justified through/from faith in Jesus Christ (Gal. 2.16). The point, once again, is that the language and theology of divine righteousness and of being justified (by God) is thoroughly rooted in the same language and expressive of the same theology found particularly in the Psalms and second Isaiah. In both cases the logic of God's covenant faithfulness is that his righteousness consists precisely in his saving and sustaining action on behalf of Israel (Pss. 31.1; 35.24; 51.14; 65.5; 71.2, 15; 98.2; 143.11; Isa. 45.8, 21; 46.13; 51.5, 6, 8; 62.1-2; 63.1, 7). It is thus integral to the gospel for Paul that it is to be understood both as for the Jew first and also as an outworking of the dictum given to Habakkuk (2.4): 'The

12. G. Strecker, 'Das Evangelium Jesu Christi', *Eschaton und Historie: Aufsätze* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), pp. 183-228; also *EDNT* 2.70-4—'the primary dependence of the noun (εὐαγγέλιον) on Greek-Hellenistic tradition is evident' (p. 180).

13. P. Stuhlmacher, *Das paulinische Evangelium* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968); also 'The Theme: The Gospel and the Gospels' and 'The Pauline Gospel', in P. Stuhlmacher (ed.), *The Gospel and the Gospels* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), pp. 1-25 (especially pp. 19-24) and pp. 149-72 (particularly pp. 160-66 on Isa. 52.7, cited by Paul in Rom. 10.15).

righteous from faith shall live' (Rom. 1.16-17).[14] That this faith is now to be experienced as 'faith in Christ Jesus' (Gal. 2.16) does, of course, introduce a further and distinctively Christian element,[15] but the very title ('Christ') reminds us that this Christian faith at least began as faith in Jesus as Messiah, that is, in Jesus precisely as fulfilment of Jewish hope, and not as a wrenching away and apart from the hope and heritage of Israel.[16]

Equally notable, thirdly, is the way Paul describes the 'gospel' in his initial reference to it at the beginning of Romans—'the gospel of God, which was promised beforehand through his prophets in the holy scriptures' (Rom. 1.1-2). The fact that Paul can speak of it as 'the gospel of God' (also Rom. 15.16; 2 Cor. 11.7; 1 Thess. 2.2, 8, 9), and not solely as 'the gospel of Christ/his Son' (Rom. 1.9; 15.19; 1 Cor. 9.12; 2 Cor. 2.12; 9.13; 10.14; Gal. 1.7; Phil. 1.27; 1 Thess. 3.2; 2 Thess. 2.14), contains in itself the same implication of a gospel defined in terms of its continuity with earlier scriptures, since the (usually unspoken) assumption in Paul's theology of God is that this is the one God whom Israel has always confessed (Rom. 3.30; 1 Cor. 8.6). To the same effect we read in the key verse, Rom. 3.21, that 'the righteousness of God has been revealed, as attested by the law and the prophets'. This simply confirms the point already made that the key content of the gospel ('the righteousness of God') was, for Paul, wholly drawn from the categories and theology of 'the law and the prophets'.

Similarly in Gal. 3.8 Paul can even say that 'the gospel was preached beforehand to Abraham'. The thought is slightly different from the opening of Romans—not just *promised* beforehand (προεπηγγείλατο),

14. See further my *Romans* (WBC 38; Dallas: Word Books, 1988), pp. 40-46.

15. The point is stronger for those who take the phrase πίστις Χριστοῦ as meaning 'the faith of Jesus' = the faith which Jesus exercised or the faithfulness (to God and his covenant promise) which Jesus displayed and embodied—a view supported by the honorand (see e.g. his *Paul*, pp. 150-51); but see below n. 17, and further my 'Once More, *PISTIS CHRISTOU*', in E.H. Lovering (ed.), *SBLSP* 1991 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), pp. 730-44.

16. See particularly N.A. Dahl, 'The Crucified Messiah' and 'The Messiahship of Jesus', in his *The Crucified Messiah and Other Essays* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1974), pp. 10-47; reprinted in his *Jesus the Christ: The Historical Origins of Christological Doctrine* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), pp. 15-47. See also my 'How Controversial was Paul's Christology?', in M.C. de Boer (ed.), *From Jesus to John: Essays on Jesus and New Testament Christology in Honour of Marinus de Jonge* (JSNTSup 84; JSOT Press, 1993), pp. 148-67 (here 150-55).

but *preached* beforehand (προευηγγελίσατο). In a very real sense for Paul the gospel already existed, or at least was already in effect at the time of Abraham. Of course, Paul is pushing a line: that the gospel consists primarily or essentially in the promise to Abraham that all the nations would be blessed in him (Gen. 12.3; 18.18). But it was of central importance to Paul that this promise was an integral part of the three-fold promise originally made to Abraham (of seed, land and blessing), the covenant promise on which Israel's own self-understanding was founded. The line of continuity could hardly be clearer.

This reminds us, fourthly, that a key element in Paul's argumentation is that justification by faith was nothing new. On the contrary, for Paul the definitive example of one so justified was Abraham (Romans 4; Galatians 3). The fact that in the two letters devoted most fully to the exposition of Paul's gospel (Romans and Galatians) essentially the same line of argument is followed presumably should not be taken to indicate a lack of theological inventiveness on Paul's part. Rather it indicates just how crucial the paradigm provided by Abraham was for Paul's understanding of the gospel.

Integral to this argument is the claim that the Gentile believers are as much 'heirs of Abraham' as any Jew. The defining characteristic of Abraham as recipient of the promise was his acceptance of it by faith. Consequently the line of descent from Abraham in terms both of sonship and of promise is equally to be defined in terms of faith. The exposition of Gen. 15.6 (Gal. 3.6-29) is bracketed precisely by this repeated claim: 'Know then that those of faith,[17] they are Abraham's sons...And if you are Christ's, then are you Abraham's seed, heirs according to the promise' (Gal. 3.7, 29).[18] Fundamental to the Christian self-understanding expressed by Paul in this chapter, therefore, is the claim to continuity, that unless the gospel can be understood as the fulfilment of the divine purpose which began to be unfolded with Abraham, it cannot be maintained, cannot properly be understood as the gospel of Christ.

The same point is made in the equivalent chapter in Romans, where Paul's language seems to fall over itself as he tries to maintain both the

17. The fact that 'those of faith' is a generalizing out of the immediately preceding more specific 'Abraham believed God' rules out any suggestion that 'those of faith' = those whose relationship with God was derived from the faithfulness of Jesus Christ (see above n. 15)

18. See further my *Galatians* (BNTC; London: A. & C. Black, 1993), *ad loc.*

definitive character of faith while also maintaining as strong and as full a line of continuity as possible with the promise to Abraham of seed—'father of circumcision to those who are not only men of circumcision but who also follow in the footsteps of the faith of our father Abraham which he had in uncircumcision...in order that the promise might be certain to all the seed, not to the one who is of the law only but also to the one who is of the faith of Abraham' (Rom. 4.12, 16).[19] The exegetical problems in this passage arise precisely because Paul was attempting to press for such a strong line of continuity between the gospel and the promise to Abraham, so much so that the inevitable question arose: if Gentile believers are seed of Abraham, then what of 'those of the circumcision', whose claim to an unbroken line of descent from Abraham is otherwise so much more clear and direct?

This line of reflection leads in turn, finally, to a reminder that for Paul the continuity of Israel was an integral part of Paul's understanding of the gospel. It is implicit in the much disputed final benediction in Galatians—peace and mercy be 'also on the Israel of God' (Gal. 6.16)—where the most obvious inference is that 'Israel' is understood as defined by the promise to Abraham (and Jacob/Israel), that is, a promise received by faith and including blessings for the nations (Gen. 28.13-14).[20] But even if the meaning and significance of Gal. 6.16 is more open to debate, the position is surely clear enough in Romans 9–11. There Paul begins by reaffirming the richness of Israel's continuing blessings (9.4-5) and ends with the strongest assertion that the divine purpose for Israel is still in process of unfolding, soon (Paul hoped) to reach its climax (11.25-32). Integral to that hope once again was the understanding that Gentile believers had become participant in these blessings by being engrafted into the olive tree of Israel (11.16-24). To be noted is the fact that Paul was *not* thinking in terms of two separate entities, Israel and the church,[21] which he had to try to hold in balance or awkwardly to integrate, but was thinking only of the one living

19. On the difficulties of construing the passage, 4.12 in particular, see my *Romans, ad loc.*

20. See further my *Galatians*, pp. 344-46.

21. It needs to be recalled that at this stage ἐκκλησία in Paul still denoted the local church, or church in an area (see e.g. J. Hainz, *Ekklesia: Strukturen paulinischer Gemeinde-Theologie und Gemeinde-Ordnung* [Regensburg: Pustet, 1972], pp. 229-39, 250-55); the thought of 'the church' as universal, and thus as somehow having superseded 'Israel', had not yet appeared.

organism, Israel, in which individuals received and held their place by grace through faith.[22] Here perhaps most clearly of all the integration of 'gospel' and 'Israel' and the line of continuity from Abraham to Gentile believers come to clearest expression. Whether or not *Heilsgeschichte* is the best way to describe this theological assertion may be open to discussion; but certainly a direct continuity of divine saving purpose working in and through history seems to be clearly in view.

To sum up. Other aspects of this line of theological reflection could be opened up, but hopefully enough has been said to put the point beyond dispute. Integral to the gospel for Paul was the line of continuity whose clearest beginning was with Abraham. Not only was Abraham himself the beginning of the gospel and archetypal example of one 'justified by faith', but the gospel itself could only be adequately understood by Paul as the outworking of the promises to Abraham. Indeed, the line of continuity and fulfilment was so central to the gospel that Paul would have judged the gospel itself to have failed had that line been decisively breached.

2. *The Discontinuity of the Gospel*

The element of discontinuity is more difficult to establish—or at least that is how it appears at first glance. Nevertheless it can be argued strongly that such discontinuity is equally if not more fundamental to Paul's gospel than the element of continuity.

Central to Paul's gospel is, of course, the death and resurrection of Jesus. It is striking then that Paul refers to the cross in such apocalyptic terms. Thus already in one of his earliest letters he can speak of Christ on the cross as the means by which 'the world has been crucified to me and I to the world', so that what now counts is 'the new creation' (Gal. 6.14-15). Here indeed, as Martyn points out, we can speak of 'two different worlds'[23]—the cross functioning as a kind of break point in history, so that the old creation has been replaced by the new. The same association of thought underlies the powerful statement in 2 Cor. 5.16-21: at the heart of the gospel of God's act of reconciliation in and through the death of Christ is the 'new creation; the old has passed away, behold the new has come' (5.17). The same thought comes to

22. See further my *Romans*, pp. 520, 539-40.
23. Martyn, 'Antinomies', p. 412.

expression in Paul's talk elsewhere of dying with Christ. Paul says that he himself 'died to the law' when he was crucified with Christ (Gal. 2.19). A decisive shift, an eschatological shift through death to life, has already taken place (Rom. 6.3-6); the old relationships have been broken and ended by this death, so that a new relationship might take its place (7.4-6).

The same point comes through in Paul's even stronger emphasis on the resurrection of Christ (e.g. Rom. 10.9; 1 Cor. 15.17). For the resurrection of the dead is itself an apocalyptic category (as expressed typically in such passages as Dan. 12.2; *1 Enoch* 51.1-2; *Apoc. Mos.* 13.3; 28.4; 41.3; 43.2; *2 Bar.* 50.2; Mt. 27.52-53). To claim that this has already happened in Christ's resurrection, even 'the resurrection of the dead' (Rom. 1.4—not just his resurrection from the dead), is again to claim that the normal course of history has been completely broken; a wholly new and qualitatively different dimension of reality has come into play which wholly leaves behind the old. 'Christ having been raised from the dead no longer dies, death no longer exercises lordship over him' (Rom. 6.9).

Not only is the centre of Paul's gospel apocalyptic in character, but its whole structure. Thus at the same point in the introduction to Galatians as Rom. 1.3-4 in Romans, Paul again cites what seems to be an established formula, which indicates the framework of theological perspective to which Paul can refer so briefly because he took it for granted[24]—Jesus Christ, 'who gave himself for our sins to rescue us from the present evil age' (Gal. 1.4). This is a clear expression of what is generally regarded as the classic apocalyptic belief in the two ages, the present age and the age to come. To be sure, the belief came to full expression only in the later apocalypses *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* (*4 Ezra* 6.9; 7.12-13, 50, 113; 8.1; *2 Bar.* 14.13; 15.8; 44.11-15). But it was already implicit in the visions of Daniel 2 and 7, and, more to the point, the apocalyptic doctrine of the two ages is present in the Jesus tradition (Mt. 12.32; Mk 10.30; Lk. 20.34-35). What is striking here, however, is not only the confirmation that earliest Christian thought was clearly marked by apocalyptic categories, but, more important, that for the Christian too the present age was marked out as an age of evil, under the thrall of evil powers (so also 1 Cor. 1.20; 2.6, 8; 2 Cor. 4.4; cf. Eph. 5.16). At this point the apocalyptic dualism with which the Pauline

24. See, e.g., my *Galatians*, pp. 34-35.

gospel is framed is as sharp and as pessimistic as the Qumran talk of 'the time of wickedness' (CD 6.10, 14; 12.23; 1QpHab. 5.7).

Taken with the talk of 'new creation' and 'resurrection' already noted, the conclusion seems hard to avoid: that for Paul the gospel meant not the extension forward in time of the ongoing line of salvation–history, but the breaking of that line, the irruption of a wholly new and different age upon the old; and that the latter (the old age) now has to be seen not as the age of antecedent or proleptic grace, but as the age characterized by evil from which the gospel provides the means of rescue.

Once this apocalyptic framework of Paul's gospel has been grasped, then so many other elements in his theology fall naturally into place. For example, the fact that he describes his 'conversion' in apocalyptic terms as a 'revelation' (Gal. 1.12, 16)—that is, not only as an unveiling of/from heaven, but an unveiling with eschatological significance, which unlocked the mystery of God's purpose hidden until now (cf. the apocalyptic dualism of 2 Cor. 4.4-6). Hence also Paul's use of the characteristically apocalyptic term 'mystery' itself (Dan. 2.18-19, 27-30; 1QS 3.23; 4.18; 1QpHab. 7.5; *1 En.* 103.2; 106.19; *2 En.* 24.3; *4 Ezra* 10.38; 14.5; Rev. 10.7) to describe his own sense of the eschatologically final revelation and commission which had been given to him (in the undisputed Paulines, explicit only in Rom. 11.25; but implicit also in 1 Cor. 2.7; and central in Col. 1.26-27; 2.2; 4.3; Eph. 1.9; 3.3-4, 9; 'the mystery of the gospel'—6.19). Hence too the characteristic Pauline understanding of his apostleship to which Fridrichsen drew attention, as an eschatological apostleship (1 Cor. 15.8), last act in the denouement of God's purpose (1 Cor. 4.9; cf. Rom. 13.11-12; 1 Cor. 7.29-31), the means by which the final resurrection will come about (Rom. 11.13-15).

That the apocalyptic framework of Paul's gospel forces the student of Paul's letters to reckon with a very sharp form of discontinuity is clearest in 'the apocalyptic antinomies' of Galatians.[25] There, particularly in Gal. 4.21-31, Paul seems to go out of his way to stress the sharpness of distinction and opposition between the covenant of Sinai and the covenant of promise. In this passage the correspondence between the

25. See Martyn, 'Apocalytic Antinomies' and 'Events in Galatia'.

elements in the two columns[26] is not of *heilsgeschichtlich* continuity but of antithetical opposition, with the Jerusalem of apocalyptic vision ('the Jerusalem above') claimed wholly for the Pauline gospel and denied to the inhabitants of earthly Jerusalem, and with the promise claimed exclusively for those, like the Galatian believers, 'born according to the Spirit' (cf. 3.3, 14) and denied to the ethnic descendents of Abraham. The discontinuity could hardly be sharper. Hence the denial of the very term 'gospel' to those for whom that other line of descent from Abraham remained fundamental and of continuing validity in terms of promise (Gal. 1.6-9), where again the language which Paul uses to assert the sole validity of his own gospel is constitutively apocalyptic (1.11): 'to make known' (γνωρίζειν), as of a heavenly mystery (Dan. [Theod.] 2.23, 28-30, 45; 5.7-8, 15-17; etc.; 1QpHab. 7.4-5; 1QH 4.27-28; 7.27; Col. 1.27; Eph. 1.9; 3.3-5, 10; 6.19). Hence too the sharp contrast between the two ages can indeed become a sharp antithesis between life 'in the flesh' and life 'in the (eschatological) Spirit' (Rom. 7.5; 8.9), or between life 'under the law' and life 'under grace' (Rom. 6.14-15; Gal. 3.23-4.7). Here again the apocalyptic perspective of Paul's gospel pushes his formulation into the sharp antithesis from which grew, quite understandably, the sharpness of the antithesis between Christianity and Judaism in subsequent Christian theology.

Here too more could be said to develop the point in greater detail, but hopefully the point is already clear and beyond dispute: that Paul's gospel was fundamentally shaped by an apocalyptic perspective,

26. On the force of συστοιχεῖ in Gal. 4.25, see my *Galatians*, p. 252. The following table is drawn from p. 244:

two covenants	
(first covenant)	(second covenant)
slave girl	free woman
gives birth according to flesh	gives birth through promise
Mount Sinai	(promise)
bears children into slavery	mother (of the free)
Hagar	Sarah
present Jerusalem	the Jerusalem above
in slavery	free
wife with few children	abandoned, barren wife with many children
two sons	
born according to flesh	born according to Spirit
persecutes	child of promise
to be driven out—no inheritance	alone inherits
born of slave girl	born of free woman

inevitably so, given the constitutive force of the resurrection and the outpoured Spirit in Christian self-understanding; and that this made inevitable an emphasis of discontinuity between old age and new, where the sense of belonging to the eschatologically new put everything else, including Israel's history, into the old and coloured it with the shades not just of unfulfilled promise, but also of dominance by flesh and evil powers.

3. *Squaring the Circle*

Our conclusion thus far is that both perspectives, both that which can be characterized under the heading of *Heilsgeschichte*, and that which can be characterized under the heading of 'apocalyptic', are present in the Pauline letters. Indeed, not only are they both present, but they are both constitutive of Paul's theology, as expressed particularly in the letters to Rome and Galatia. They are *both* integral to the gospel propounded in these letters.

However, at the same time, it has to be acknowledged that they also seem to run counter to each other—the one proposing a continuity which seems to be broken by the discontinuity presumed by the other, the second implying a radically new start which seems to call in a fundamental question about what had gone before.

How are we to handle this tension within Paul's theology of the gospel? There are three possible strategies. One is to accept that the tension amounts to a destructive and unresolvable tension and then try to deal with it in those terms. The second attempts to deal with it in what might loosely be called 'rhetorical' terms: the tension is an expression of Paul's apologetic style. The third attempts a resolution in more theological terms: the tension itself is in fact also constitutive of the gospel; both perspectives are together integral to the coherence of Paul's gospel.

The first strategy suggests as the most obvious deduction that Paul was not a systematic thinker; he was not aware that the two perspectives cut across each other so much; he formulated his theology in an *ad hoc* way, to meet different crises or questions, and would not have been concerned had the degree of contradiction been pointed out to him. This is the solution of E.P. Sanders and H. Räisänen in regard to Paul's treatment of the law in particular.[27] But since Paul's attitude to the law is only the sharpest expression of the tension (contrast, for example, the

27. E.P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983); H. Räisänen, *Paul and the Law* (WUNT 29; Tübingen: Mohr, 1983).

negative ὑπὸ νόμον of Rom. 6.14-15 and Gal. 3.23, with the positive talk of Christians 'fulfilling' the law in Rom. 8.4 and Gal. 5.14), their conclusion with regard to the law applies more broadly. The conflict in Paul's treatment of the law simply indicates the issue on which the two perspectives come most obviously into conflict.

This may indeed be a conclusion to which we are in the end forced. But to accept it at the outset would be an exegesis of discourtesy. The more the claim of contradiction and incoherence is pressed, the more we have to wonder whether the claim is well founded, and if so, why Paul himself was not more aware of it. The challenge of discerning the rationale of Paul's gospel in its own first-century Jewish/Christian terms may be demanding for twentieth-century western critics but it should not be lightly dismissed. Sanders may be content to dig out a Paul in his own image, as one who could live quite happily with theological incoherencies. But theologians concerned for the coherence of their own theology are less likely to be persuaded that Paul was any different. And Räisänen should not be surprised that an atomistic exegesis resulted in his discovering an atomistic theology of Paul. Where so little attention was given to the coherence of the movement of thought within individual letters it is hardly surprising that the major finding was of incoherence.

Nor can the problem be resolved by cutting the Gordian knot—that is, accepting that the two perspectives are at such odds that the only solution is to deny one or other of the perspectives to Paul himself. Martyn so argues with regard to Galatians: Paul's theology is so through-and-through apocalyptic that the *heilsgeschichtlich* argument regarding sonship of Abraham can only be explained as being the argument of the Galatian 'teachers', that is, the argument which Paul in effect opposes in his letter.[28] But to read the argument of Galatians 3 in that way, as Paul embracing an argument with which he basically disagreed, is very strained indeed—particularly when in addressing what appears to be the rather different situation in Rome he uses more or less the same argument on his own behalf (Romans 4). The data and considerations marshalled under section 1 above cannot be so easily sidelined in attempts to restate Paul's gospel. On the other front, it may be possible to demonstrate that Paul has to some extent 'de-apocalypticized' the

28. J.L. Martyn, 'A Law-Observant Mission to Gentiles: The Background of Galatians', *SJT* 38 (1985), pp. 307-24; also 'Events in Galatia'.

eschatology of the gospel,[29] not least in shifting some at least of the eschatological significance backward on to the past event of Christ's (first) coming and resurrection, but it is important to recognize that the apocalyptic structure of his gospel remains intact.[30] Paul's gospel can no more be separated from the apocalyptic perspective (section 2) than it can from the *helisgeschtlich* perspective. The tension remains.

The second strategy is to explore whether the tension can be explained in rhetorical terms. Could it not be that the tension between the salvation–history perspective and the apocalyptic perspective is the product of Paul's apologetic technique or evangelistic strategy?

It could be argued, for example, that the two perspectives are simply alternative *metaphorical* ways of conceptualizing the gospel in its larger than individual significance. When Paul attempts to describe the impact of the gospel in other places he regularly makes use of a wide range of vivid metaphors, and these metaphors quite frequently conflict with each other. Thus he can describe conversion by the metaphors both of birth and of adoption (1 Cor. 4.15; Gal. 4.6), both of marriage and engagement (1 Cor. 6.17; 2 Cor. 11.2); effective preaching of the gospel can be equally a sowing, a grafting or a harvesting (1 Cor. 3.6-8; Rom. 11.17-24; 8.23); or the same metaphor (adoption) can be used both for conversion and for the final consummation (Rom. 8.15, 23). In each case the one metaphorical usage runs counter to the other.[31] So perhaps with the metaphors of 'salvation history' and 'apocalyptic'. The point is that with a metaphor one is not attempting precision of definition but offering an elucidating picture whose success as a metaphor may be evocative and emotive rather than definitive. In this case, the one metaphor would emphasize continuity and fulfilment, the other irruption and revelation from on high, but, or so it could be argued, the problem of inconsistency would come more in the metaphorical surplus and not so much in the points being thus emphasized.

Another way of explaining the inconsistency would be to argue that the apocalyptic emphasis comes more with Paul's own self-understanding as to his *personal* role in relation to the gospel, whereas the salvation–history perspective is activated more when he considers the *corporate*

29. Cf. J. Baumgarten, *Paulus und die Apokalyptik* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1975).

30. Beker, *Paul*, ch. 8.

31. Cf. the range of ecclesiological metaphors in P.S. Minear, *Images of the Church in the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960).

dimension of the gospel. Certainly it is noticeable that many of the passages with strong apocalyptic colouring cited in the second section above (section 2) are in fact passages of self-testimony. Thus, in particular, the revelation was one which Paul himself received (Gal. 1.12, 16); 'I' died to the law and have been crucified with Christ (Gal. 2.19). The idea of the 'new creation' follows directly from Paul's talk of himself as crucified to the world and vice versa (Gal. 6.14-15), just as elsewhere the same thought is bound up with Paul's own sense of commissioning (2 Cor. 5.17-21). Or again, it is Paul's own commission as apostle to the Gentiles which will provide the trigger to the final events of Jewish restoration and endtime resurrection (Rom. 11.13-15); the mystery of God's final purpose was revealed to Paul himself (Rom. 11.25). The difference of perspective could therefore be the difference between Paul's memory of his conversion, as a wrenching, mould shattering, personal apocalypse, and his more reflective understanding of how God's purpose was working out in relation to his people Israel. Alternatively expressed, the tension is the tension in Paul's own self-understanding, as one who was both an Israelite and called to take the gospel to Gentiles.

A third possible solution would be to argue that the different emphases are the result of Paul addressing *different circumstances*. This is a familiar solution to other, similar tensions in Paul. It has proved an effective consideration in the debate about Paul's developing eschatology and the delay of the parousia.[32] More to the point here, Paul himself indicates its potential as a solution with his famous description of his evangelistic strategy (1 Cor. 9.19-23).[33] Could it not be that the apocalyptic/salvation–history tension is of a piece with and even an expression of Paul's readiness to practise what must have appeared to many as self-contradictory life-styles?—life 'under the law' as consistent with the salvation–history perspective, and life 'outside the law' as consistent with the apocalyptic perspective? It might well follow that the apocalyptic perspective was more 'authentically' Pauline, more indicative of Paul's own priorities (cf. Rom. 14.14, 20). But it would also

32. See, e.g., C.F.D. Moule, 'The Influence of Circumstances on the Use of Eschatological Terms', *JTS* 15 (1964), reprinted in his *Essays in New Testament Interpretation* (Cambridge University, 1982)—an essay, as I recall, much valued by Richard Longenecker.

33. Cf. H. Chadwick, 'All Things to All Men (1 Cor. 9.22)', *NTS* 1 (1954–55), pp. 261-75.

follow that the salvation–history perspective was equally an expression of Paul's personal determination to maintain the continuity between the gospel and its patriarchal and prophetic antecedents, his pastoral concern to support the Jewish members of his churches (cf. Rom. 14.14, 20!). Could the solution to this tension be simply that, where the eschatological significance of Christ's work was being undervalued in favour of the continuity of divine purpose, Paul emphasized the apocalyptic character of the gospel; whereas, where he perceived too strong an emphasis on the discontinuous newness of the gospel, he preferred rather to emphasize its salvation–historical continuity with what had gone before? Alternatively expressed, Paul's theology was not like a mathematical point, but more like a plateau, where sometimes it was necessary to speak with one message and tone of voice on one side, and at others with different words and emphases on another. For modern commentators to ask for a greater consistency than that is to ask for a Paul who could not possibly have functioned effectively in the real world.

Any or all of these explanations may well have been factors in the tension evident in Paul's statement and defence of his gospel. But do they solve the problem too lightly? I am well aware that in circles where a more overt literary criticism flourishes an explanation in terms of rhetoric may be judged wholly sufficient. But the primary challenge comes here at the theological level, not solely at the level of the spoken word or of the missionary strategy. The question is whether for Paul the gospel which he preached was 'new'—new in content and character, new in the grace it claimed to embody (Gal. 1.6), new in the power for salvation which it brought to effect (Rom. 1.16)—or was it simply a recycling in different language of old truths and old claims? The question thus posed cannot find satisfaction except with a theological answer.

A theological explanation of the tension between the salvation–history and the apocalyptic perspectives of Paul's gospel has to begin by noting that both perspectives were characteristically Jewish. That is to say, the apocalyptic perspective of Paul was part of Paul's own Jewish heritage, part, we may say, of the salvation–history continuity between Second Temple Judaism and Christianity. It need hardly be demonstrated that 'apocalyptic',[34] at least so far as it bears upon our discussion, was itself a native growth within second Temple Judaism (the Enoch apocalypses,

34. Note again n. 3 above.

Daniel, etc.). In other words, it was a perspective to which many Jews before Paul were drawn.

The point, of course, is that such Jews, in embracing an apocalyptic perspective, were not thereby abandoning a salvation–history perspective, they were not denying their heritage as Israelites. On the contrary, an apocalypse was itself a way of reaffirming the continuity of the past with the future as both God's. To be sure, the group whose perspective came to expression in an apocalypse evidently felt itself isolated and under severe threat; it saw itself as the prey of evil powers. The characteristically dualistic pessimism of the apocalyptic perspective with regard to the present age was itself an expression of the pressure under which such groups found themselves.[35] But fundamental to the same perspective was the claim of the apocalyptists, and those whom they represented, to embody *in themselves* the continuity of God's saving purpose from the past into the future. They may have been only a remnant; the rest of Israel may have become apostate; but in themselves at least the line of God's saving purpose was maintained. Moreover, the envisioned future might well reveal that the present blackness was merely temporary and that the age-old pattern of sin, exile and restoration (Deuteronomy 29–30) would again be realized in the salvation of Israel as a whole.[36] In short, an apocalyptic perspective was a way of affirming salvation–history continuity when the faithful were suffering persecution and could see no other way for the covenant and its promises to be sustained.

A classic example of this is the apocalyptic perspective of the Essenes, particularly as we can now gain access to it through the Dead Sea Scrolls.[37] For they regarded themselves as the true Israel, the new covenant people (e.g. 1QS 8.4-9), but also as constantly threatened by the spirit of wickedness (1QS 3.13-4.26), and preparing for the final battle between the sons of light and the sons of darkness (1QM). In the DSS, we may say, *heilsgeschichtlich* and apocalyptic perspectives are well (not fully) integrated and feed into each other. The tension between the two perspectives present in a document like 1QpHab is, in effect,

35. See further P.D. Hanson, 'Apocalypticism', *IDBSup*, pp. 28-34.

36. See further the discussion of E.P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, pp. 240-57; also pp. 361, 367-74, 378 (*Jubilees*) and pp. 398-406, 408 (*Psalms of Solomon*).

37. See, e.g., P.D. Hanson, *The People Called: The Growth of Community in the Bible* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1986), pp. 364-72.

sharper than anything we find in Paul.

So too when we turn to Paul. The apocalyptic understanding of the death and resurrection of Christ, which came to Paul in his own personal apocalypse on the Damascus road, did not wholly cut Paul off from his past. Of course, it gave him a fresh perspective on his past as a Pharisee, and he had to redefine his relationship with Judaism (1 Cor. 15.8-9; Gal. 1.13-14), but it did not cause him to renounce his heritage as an Israelite. On the contrary, for Paul the revelation was one which showed him how the ancient promises and hopes were to be fulfilled. It was new in that it focused in Jesus, but the new gospel was simply the new but also foretold way of completing the old purpose. In particular, the Damascus road revelation showed Paul how the ancient promises to the patriarchs were to be fulfilled—not just the promise of seed and land, but also the promise of blessing to the nations (Gal. 1.15-16; Gen. 12.3; 18.18). If it took a quantum leap of (apocalyptic) revelation to bring this home to Paul, the revelation was of Jesus as the means by which these promises were to be fulfilled—Jesus as both the content of the new revelation and the hinge of continuity between old and new.

It is relevant to note here that the newness of the revelation to Paul made for tension not only with Paul's ancestral Judaism but also with the first Jerusalem Christians. The underlying issue at this point comes to focus not simply on the relation between Judaism and Christianity, but also on the relation between Jesus and Paul, between the gospel as understood by the first followers of Jesus and the gospel of Paul.[38] The more Jesus himself is recognized to be a Jew of Jews,[39] and the more the first (post-Easter) believers are seen in direct continuity with the pre-Easter Jesus, the more will the salvation–history/apocalyptic tension tend to force Jesus and Paul apart, with catastrophic effects for our evaluation of the relationship of historic 'Christianity' with the one named as its founder (Jesus). But if, in contrast, we accept Paul's assertion that his gospel was continuous with the earliest proclamation of Christ (particularly 1 Cor. 15.1-12), and if we accept that the apocalyptic 'extra' focuses on the 'to the Gentiles' emphasis in Paul's gospel

38. See my 'The Relationship between Paul and Jerusalem according to Galatians 1 and 2', *NTS* 28 (1982), pp. 461-78; reprinted in my *Jesus, Paul and the Law*, pp. 108-26.

39. This is now almost a commonplace in current redefinition of 'the historical Jesus'. See, e.g., J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *Jesus' Jewishness: Exploring the Place of Jesus in Early Judaism* (New York: Crossroad, 1991).

(Gal. 1.15-16),[40] then it becomes necessary to retain the salvation–history/ apocalyptic tension in Paul's gospel without flinching. Indeed, it is precisely the dynamic of this tension which thrust Paul the Jew forth as apostle to the nations, precisely this tension which caused such misunderstandings between Paul and his Christian fellow Jews.

In short, the degree of integration of the two perspectives (salvation–history and apocalyptic) within pre-Christian Judaism makes one wonder if the tendency to see the two perspectives as mutually exclusive is simply a false reading of Paul by technicians who have lost sight too much of the historical context within which Paul framed and preached his gospel. Certainly we must be careful about defining Pauline Christianity simply as a kind of Judaism (continuity); but equally we must beware of falling into the old trap of thinking that Christianity can only define itself in opposition to Judaism (discontinuity).

If we now step back from the narrower focus of our discussion thus far, it becomes possible to see our particular issue within a wider theological framework. For the salvation–history/apocalyptic tension in Paul's gospel can be understood as just another expression of a tension which is inescapable in any theistic soteriology. Wherever theology allows for divine intervention into or interaction with the continuities of history and nature, there is bound to be just such a tension.

The tension can come to expression in various ways. It is the tension of cosmos understood as creation, of a creation understood as flawed but still God's and still instrument of his purposes. When a gospel of salvation supervenes upon the story of that creation the tension becomes acute, and human theology has so far found it possible to maintain it as a fruitful tension only by means of myth.

Again, it is the tension of a single people (Israel) chosen for his own out of all the nations by the one God, whose purposes for his creation as a whole are nonetheless good. The tension in the promises to the patriarchs, between particularism (seed and land) and universalism (all the nations) (section 1 above), is itself the fundamental expression of that tension. That was why Paul was able to make such effective use of it in holding that the revelation to him was simply of how the ancient promise should be fulfilled, how the ancient tension should be finally resolved. By setting the choice of Israel within the wider purpose of the

40. See also my *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1990 [1977]), pp. 66-67.

creator God, the tension between 'particular grace' and 'general grace', between salvation and providence could become fruitful in good news.

Again, it is the tension between tradition and revelation, between the authority claimed for past revelation and the claims of new revelation. This too is a tension which runs through the Christian Bible and beyond; it is not simply the tension between 'Old Testament' and 'New Testament'. It is there already in the reshaping of patriarchal religion by Yahwism.[41] It is there in the impact of the Deuteronomist and of the Ezra reforms on the shape of Israelite religion. It is implicit in the formation of 'Judaism' as such in the Maccabean and post-Maccabean period, though the tension there is more evident in the non-canonical writings of apocrypha and pseudepigrapha (including, of course, the various apocalypses). It is there in the tension between Jesus the Jew, the Jewish eschatological prophet perceived as the Christ raised from the dead and exalted to Lordship at God's right hand. It is there, as we have already noted, in the tension between Paul's gospel to the Gentiles, which is also the gospel of God, the gospel of Christ, the gospel of those who preach Jesus as the Christ. And it is there in the subsequent tension between scripture and tradition which has been fruitful of such controversy within Christianity throughout its history. Of course, for Christians, the tension between Old Testament and New is peculiarly sharp. The revelatory significance of the Christ-event has a fundamental and definitive quality which makes it stand out from all other claims to revelatory significance. Nonetheless, the fact remains that the revelation of Christ presupposes a continuity with past (and future) revelation, without which the gospel would not be the gospel of Jesus Christ.

The tension comes to expression not least as the tension integral to the salvation process in Paul's gospel itself. For it is a gospel itself suspended between the two poles of what has already happened and what is still to happen, between, in the familiar terms of Pauline studies, the 'already' and the 'not yet'. The Christ has come, but is yet to come. The Spirit has been given, but only as the beginning of complete redemption.[42] To put the point more sharply, the apocalyptic rupture with the past is itself ruptured; the aorist indicatives describing entry into faith have to be accompanied by imperative exhortations and still future promises

41. See R.W.L. Moberly, *The Old Testament of the Old Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992).

42. See, e.g., my *Jesus and the Spirit* (London: SCM Press/Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1975), pp. 308-42.

(characteristically in Romans 6–8). Ironically, the eschatological discontinuity has to become an ongoing perspective which makes room for the continuity of individual body, corporate society and fallen cosmos, all conjointly awaiting the liberation of consummation (Rom. 8.18-23), otherwise it will succumb to millennial revolution or escapist quietism.

It is precisely at this point that the discontinuity between Christianity and its antecedent Judaism is itself relativized within the more fundamental continuity—as can be seen most clearly in Galatians 4. There the 'apocalyptic antinomies' are at their sharpest (4.21-31); there the coming of God's Son is itself indication of eschatological completion and finality (τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου—4.4). And yet in that very context the discontinuity is posed precisely as that of the heir who is a minor in contrast to the adopted son who is already entering into the inheritance (4.1-7). Moreover, the latter entering in is itself only anticipatory of the complete transformation (4.19), the full inheritance (5.21). The point is, that *both* Jew and Christian (to use the still somewhat anachronistic distinction) are heirs, and *both* have not yet entered into the (full) inheritance promised them. The new beginning can be decisive only as the eschatological completion of the old hope, but as the eschatological completion it is still incomplete.

In short, the tension between a *heilsgeschichtlich* and an apocalyptic perspective in Paul's gospel is inescapable, precisely because he took so seriously all these several tensions in the framing of his gospel and theology. It was not that the Damascus road revelation resolved tensions which he had known as a Pharisee and persecutor of the church. Rather it was that the new revelation of Christ introduced that tension, or brought out in a new way and with a new intensity a tension which had always been there in his ancestral religion and in the faith which he had persecuted so vigorously. It is the tension of his gospel simply because it is the tension of his theology, simply because any theology is bound to find itself caught in such a tension.

4. *Conclusion*

How new then was Paul's gospel? It was new in that it focused on Jesus the Christ. It was new in that it came to sharpest focus in Christ's death and resurrection as providing the decisive salvific key. It was new in that it understood its dynamic (the Spirit) by reference to Christ. It was new in the way it understood the nations at large to be recipients of the

blessing now available through Christ.

Moreover, it was new in its claim of something having happened that had never happened before—God active in history in and through a man in a way only foreshadowed but not previously realized. It is new in the claim that in Christ God accomplished his will in a climactic way, without which, from a Christian perspective at least, what had gone before remains incomplete and unfulfilled.

Yet, at the same time and in every case Paul understood the newness as a fresh and final unfolding of ancient promise—new not so much in the what as in the how. Without that ancient promise the new would have been so strange and foreign that it would not have been recognized or preached by Paul as gospel. It was precisely as the revelation of what had been the divine intention from the first that Paul was able to embrace it and to be embraced by it. In short, we may say that it was the continuity in the discontinuity, the apocalyptic climax of the salvation–history which constituted the heart of his gospel.

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